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A CASE STUDY OF SIXTEEN RUNAWAY BOYS REFERRED TO THE CITIZENSHIP TRAINING DEPARTMENT BY THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT

1944 TO 1946

A THESIS

Submitted by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem.

So consistently and prominently has juvenile delinquency been discussed in the past that people in general are apt to think of it as a new and menacing aspect of modern social life. Shattering events of the war with its resulting upheavals, frustrations, and drastic changes in vital conditions affecting all walks of life, have intensified the basic causes of the problems of youth born into depression, nourished amid panic days, and catapulted into the post-war confusion of present world conditions. It is true that the war has produced many ill effects culminating in increased antisocial behavior, but many of the underlying causes of delinquency still remain undetermined. The respective weights and positions of different factors that cause delinquency, much less their permutations and combinations have as yet hardly been delineated.

Although it seems fashionable to attribute all delinquency to one cause, the home, all serious students realize and teach that the complexities and intricacies of the subject are manifold and in many instances obscure and baffling even to trained observers. Cyril Burt has encountered 170 distinct factors, including heredity, environmental, physical, and mental "causes", which were influential contributions to delin-

quency in the cases he studied.[1]

Every child at birth has the potentialities of becoming a useful citizen or a delinquent. The way these tendencies are directed will determine his social destiny. The so-called delinquent child is regarded as a misdirected, normal human being. Society must provide norms for conduct which have some solidity, clarity, consistency, and reliability, in order that the standards of the law, church, and home will have a definite meaning.

In examining all of the seemingly contradictory explanations of the causes of delinquency, it is found that they do have one common denominator: the inability of the child to meet the obligations or temptations of a particular situation without resorting to violation of the criminal law. The frailty of human nature is evidence that no absolute answer exists which would eradicate delinquency.

In point of fact, juvenile delinquency in this Commonwealth means violation of law by children from seven to seventeen years of age, and it is as new as each generation and as old as the human race. In volume and seriousness of offenses it is relatively minor when contrasted with adult delinquency. Its primary importance derives from its fundamental social nature, as it involves some families, concerns every family,

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[1] Cyril Burt, The Young Delinquent (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1925), p. 575.

and affects an entire community in its ultimate implications. It is also a reasonable measure and indication of community moves and attitudes.

That there is need for greater knowledge of the responsibilities of family life can be seen in the evidence given in newspapers throughout the country. Almost daily the newspaper headlines contain a shocking account of the crime of some juvenile. Scattered throughout the columns of metropolitan papers are notices of divorces. Everyone knows that divorces result when there is family breakdown, and that much juvenile delinquency is bred in unsound, loosely-knit family groups.

Purpose of the Study.

The purpose of this study is threefold: firstly, to discover whether runaways possess certain traits to differentiate them from non-runaways; secondly, to ascertain what constellation of factors produces in certain boys such deep-set feelings of deprivation that running away is the response; and thirdly, to determime the contributions of the Citizenship Training Department in the rehabilitation and social adjustment of sixteen runaway boys who were adjudicated delinquent by the Boston Juvenile Court from January, 1944, to December, 1946. The conditioning factors constitute ultimately the central problem. These boys range in age from twelve to sixteen years and were ordered by the court to attend the Citizenship

Training Department for the first twelve weeks of their probationary period. This agency was created to help boys, who were adjudged delinquent, to develop the art of living in harmony with other people through the medium of adjustment to norms and standards of behavior demanded by society in general.

Justification.

If the essential nature and scope of the situation are understood, there arises the realization that it cannot be lightly dismissed with pat solutions, nor can immediate, happy results always be expected. Tremendous advances have been and are being made in the field of juvenile personality adjustments, and conditions which were acceptable at not too distant times would be considered intolerable today. Competent recent, authoritative studies have established the facts that adequate, decent housing and planned, supervised recreation have materially reduced delinquency in every area so charted and studied.

The problem of dealing with delinquents and youthful criminals is part of the larger task which society faces in providing for the protection, security, and training of its young people. Every child who is in need should have provided for him whatever assistance and guidance may be required to assure him security, protection, and opportunity for the growth of his personality. The children of today are the adults of tomorrow. The main threads of the pattern of adult

life emanate from the situations and experiences of childhood and from the child's reactions to those phenomena. The future success or failure of the nation depends upon the welfare of the children in every community, which automatically sets up for them interests and activities characteristic of the community's state of civilization.

The methods of salvaging young lives may seem costly in terms of both work and money; but the same is true of all efforts aiming at reconstruction. If a large measure of success ensues, even larger sums of money would seem well justified. The writer aims to discover positive results in this study of sixteen runaway boys in attendance at the Citizenship Training Department from January, 1944, to December, 1946, by concentrating on each case history which has been compiled by means of home and school visits, the reading of records of other agencies to whom the boy and his family have been known, personal interviews with the boy, and observations obtained through the medium of group activity.

Sources of Data.

In the compilation of this thesis the writer made extensive use of the books, periodicals, and pamphlets listed in the bibliography for general information and background material. Further research was conducted at the Widener Library at Harvard University, at the Boston University School of Social Work Library, at the Boston Public Library and sev-

eral of its branches, and also at the Citizenship Training Department. Of invaluable assistance was the generous cooperation given by John J. Connelly, Judge of the Boston Juvenile Court, by Edward J. O'Meara, Chief Probation Officer of the Boston Juvenile Court, by Joseph Shea, Director of the Citizenship Training Department, and by Catherine G. Carey, Chief Case Worker at the Citizenship Training Department.

Method and Scope.

In the presentation of Material contained herein the writer used the case study method, for which a schedule was prepared.[2] All cases were obtained from the active case work files in the Citizenship Training Department last December. Inasmuch as there were only sixteen local runaway boys who were adjudged delinquent by the Boston Juvenile Court and referred to this department from January, 1944, to December, 1946, the writer concentrated his study on this particular group. Of necessity the number of cases under study during this period was limited by the fact that many of the runaways brought before the Boston Juvenile Court resided outside of Massachusetts, and consequently were returned to their local authorities. Since the Boston Juvenile Court refers to this department all boys between the ages of twelve and seventeen who are placed on probation, the elements of time and the de-

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[2] See Appendix I

linquency charge of running away were the factors involved in the method of selection.

The cases studied will take into consideration mental, physical, biological, religious, environmental, and social factors, as well as age-grade retardation and home conditions, which have been interwoven in the development of these sixteen boys. Their ability to make adjustments, their physical activity, outlets for self-expression, an analysis of responses, and the final disposition of the cases will also be considered.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Juvenile Delinquency Defined.

Under the Massachusetts law a delinquent is "a child between seven and seventeen who violates any city ordinance or town by-law or commits an offense not punishable by death or by imprisonment for life."[1] Massachusetts law places the entire process in juvenile cases in a proper setting by providing that the sections of the statutes pertaining to juvenile delinquents treat them, not as criminals, but as children needing aid, encouragement, and guidance.

The general public is called upon to abandon the practice of finding fault and of laying blame, and to recognize the fact that the causes of delinquency are natural and universal, that the problems of delinquent children are the problems of all children, and that the delinquent's social needs--the need for security in his home life, in the affection of his parents and companions, and the need for recognition, new experience, experimentation, and achievement--are as real as his physical needs for food and warmth.

Dr. Lou has combined the juvenile court statutes in several states in formulating the following legal definitions

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[1] Massachusetts Board of Probation, _Probation Manual of Massachusetts, Seventh Edition, August, 1836_, p. 34.

of delinquency, as applied to any child under a certain year of age who

1. violates a state law or local ordinance (offenses which, if committed by an adult, are punishable by death or life imprisonment are often excepted);
2. is wayward, incorrigible, or habitually disobedient;
3. associates with thieves, criminals, prostitutes, vagrants, or vicious persons;
4. is growing up in idleness or crime;
5. knowingly visits a saloon, pool room, billiard room, or gambling place;
6. knowingly visits a house of ill fame;
7. wanders about streets at night;
8. wanders about railroad yards, jumps on moving trains, or enters any car or engine without authority;
9. habitually uses or writes vile, indecent, or obscene language;
10. absents himself from home without just cause or without the consent of parent or guardian;
11. is immoral or indecent; or
12. is an habitual truant.[2]

According to Dr. James S. Plant, who had a large share in formulating the report of the delinquency committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection,

> It is precisely as the individual with his life to lead meets the more rigid, the more fixed, the more dominant needs of the institutions which surround him that stress arises, that tension arises, maladjustment and delinquency.[3]

This same committee adopted in their report the following definition of the term: "Delinquency is any such juvenile misconduct as might be dealt with under the law," further

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[2] Herbert H. Lou, _Juvenile Courts in the U. S._, p. 65.

[3] U. S. Children's Bureau, _The Delinquent Child_, p. 22.

pointing out that "the stresses which bend the delinquent are of precisely the same character as those which bend our lives."[4]

A delinquent child is an average child; he may have some defects especially in his home life, religious life, and in his ability to adjust in school. Delinquency is a process, not an isolated act, and is one mode of affording a vehicle for expression of reactions to emotional discomforts and to human situations involving the total being of the individual concerned.

Nature and Extent of Juvenile Delinquency.

On the basis of the best statistics available the delinquency committee of the White House Conference estimated that about two hundred thousand different children yearly pass before the courts on delinquency charges.[5] Where Children's Bureau figures are available, it is estimated that one child in every hundred of juvenile-court age comes before the courts as delinquent in the course of a year. The numerical seriousness of the problem is obvious.

It must be remembered that many children whose conduct is in conflict with the law are never brought to court. This is due to several reasons. The misdemeanors are often overlooked in rural districts. Some parents are financially able

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[4] Ibid., p. 24.

[5] U. S. Children's Bureau, Social Services for Children, p. 210.

to procure special care for their children. School authorities often handle personality and behavior problems without referring such cases to the juvenile court, except as a last resort; and visiting teachers deal with numerous problems of maladjustment. Police departments handle many cases without reference to the juvenile courts.[6] The term "delinquent" has been generally applied only to those children whose misconduct has been officially dealt with.

Because of the inadequacies or absence of reliable and comprehensive data over a period of years it is difficult to state with certainty whether juvenile delinquency as known to police and courts is increasing or decreasing. Lack of uniformity in methods of reporting prevents accurate comparison of statistics of various cities. Arousing of public interest, advances in research and methods of treatment, the increasing development of psychological, psychiatric, social, and related sciences, have been instrumental in attacking the delinquency problem. This is evidenced by more adequate provision of institutions, probation systems, child guidance clinics, and the like.

Statistics show that the interests and pursuits of children of different ages are reflected in the types of offenses which they commit. Boys who come before the juvenile

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[6] U. S. Children's Bureau, Facts about Juvenile Delinquency, pp. 4-5.

courts usually present different delinquency problems from those of girls. Charges of carelessness or mischief decrease, as the age of the children increases. Truancy and running away seem to occur more often among children between fourteen and sixteen years of age than among those of any other age group.

Factors of Causation.

It would be difficult to analyze or classify all of the different forms and degrees of delinquency. Many abnormal conditions are frequently found to be causal factors; yet no one or a few can be considered the real cause of the abnormal behavior of the child. Every case has many divergent and overlapping aspects. The possibilities of modifying behavior are naturally the foremost consideration, when a young person presents a problem of personality deviation, undesirable habits, or delinquency. The fact that delinquents show remarkably good promise for moral therapy must not be lost sight of. The peculiar nature of the child, his background of experience and family life, and his particular needs are all inextricably interwoven. Physical and social heredity, emotional disturbances, glandular deficiencies, and a host of other factors, both in isolation and in a variety of combinations, have been emphasized as causative factors of delinquency.

Dire poverty with consequent economic insecurity, men-

tal deficiency, crowded slum areas with ample opportunity for wrongdoing and a tradition of antisocial conduct, broken and distorted home life accompanied by unfortunate parental relationships, badly occupied leisure time, culture conflict, all are included in the complex of forces in which delinquent attitudes and behavior are generated.

Nationally known Juvenile Judge Gilliam of the famed Denver Juvenile Court stated that one of the chief contributing factors to juvenile delinquency is lack of security, which may account for seeming naughtiness in a normal, average child.[7] This is something which is often passed over as of little importance and often establishes habits which, if not handled rightly, may develop into defects of personality and character that will greatly limit the individual's usefulness and happiness and may bring him into conflict with the law. The danger sign of all of the child's actions becoming snarled up in this "phase" should not be minimized. Children must have ample outlets for their energies; if the energies of growing children are not canalized into healthy activities, they will seek unwholesome and antisocial channels.

Many children need some parental substitute as a means of forming a desirable "ego ideal" or source of hero worship and emulation. Lack of identification with such a

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[7] Margaret Hill, "Juvenile Judge," The Modern Baby, February, 1947, p. 3.

model in the home occurs in records of unfortunate parental relationships, misunderstandings, family bickerings, unwanted children, and absence of parental control. No child could develop a wholesome personality amid constant parental indifference, ignorance, brutality, and rejection.

Frequently the disharmony in the unbroken home is a more subtle cause of misbehavior than the neglect that is often typical of the broken home. The home should be the safest place on earth to the child, with absolute freedom from fear and with the necessary factor of understanding parents. Many children have been cheated of earth's most important, most lasting education--home training. Even Thomas Jefferson, a radical in his days and an enemy of organized religion, firmly believed and said that education for a virtuous personal life was the foundation and beginning of all democratic education.[8] Unless parents give example of virtue, their mere words are meaningless; and the first lessons in wrong living are often learned right in their homes.

The best home for the child should be the home of its parents. However, some parents are incompetent or demoralized and will remain unsuitable guardians despite the fact that increasing attention is being directed toward helping them to make their homes better for their children. Wholesome life

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[8] Rev. Hugh Calkins, It's Tough on the Teen-Agers, pp. 3-4.

in a child's own family circle is the most advantageous background for the right unfolding of the young personality. The sense of belonging in the home meets one of the deepest fundamental needs of life.

It is surprising the number of children who plead to be sent to institutions. Most juvenile delinquents do not have any home or family life. They do not belong anywhere nor to anyone who is truly interested in them. Thus it is not startling that they are ready and eager to be sent to a "home", even if it is an orphanage or a reformatory. It is the nearest approach to security they have ever known.[9] Often what is needed is merely a little reassurance and affection.

A high percentage of delinquents are school children. In the majority of these cases are found histories of school failure, retardation, and rejection of traditional subject matter of the school systems. School dissatisfaction and maladjustment often contribute to delinquency.

Persistent appearance of heartbreaking, soul-destroying influences of poverty, squalor, personal frustration, insecurity, and emotional conflict play an important role in the development of delinquent attitudes. These are augmented by other contributing causes: bad companionship, inadequate and improper play and other essential expressional opportu-

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[9] Hill, op. cit., p. 7.

nities, degraded neighborhood surroundings, gang influence, vicious commercialized recreations, and deplorable circumstances associated with slum areas and run-down communities.

Much routine delinquency is attributable to environmental hazards, character defects, neglect and cruelty, deviations and inadequacies, faulty training with extremes of harshness and complacency, and general social inadequacy. Such conditions destroy, distort, and frustrate normal child development. Delinquency has its roots in the dynamic life of the community, which is in reality no better than the individual. The home may be inadequate, but so too are the community, the forces therein, and the individual boy. Obviously in any group of juvenile delinquents from the poorest sections of a large city, there is a considerable percentage that have criminal, vicious, or defective parents and have grown up with such poor standards and bad habits that delinquency is deeply rooted in them.

Juvenile delinquency must be recognized as a timeless, human problem common to all communities. Although the delinquency rate, as recently published by the Boston Council of Social Agencies, is relatively low, this fact should stimulate the support and encouragement in every possible way of the fundamental character-building agencies of home, church, school, social services, recreation, and community activities.

CHAPTER III

PSYCHOLOGY OF RUNNING AWAY

The Committee on Runaway Children of the National Probation Association defines runaway children as follows: "Those boys and girls who live outside the jurisdiction of the juvenile court where they are apprehended, and who have apparently left without the knowledge or consent of their parents or guardians."[1] Running away is one method of escaping from a conflict and seems to be associated primarily with pubertal changes and poor home conditions.

There is great variation in the seriousness of the offense of running away, as well as in the original causations and in the tendency to repeat this form of delinquency. Since the family is the first and foremost authority known to runaways, it is the family against whom they show a marked defiance. A large number of transient youths are from typical American homes, from which they have been driven in search of economic security or a happier life. Few children leave home to become vagrants deliberately. A period of real wanderlust is no sign of aberration, for this mode of behavior is just as apt to occur in normal boys who may harbor a grudge, with or

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[1] Nannie Oppenheimer, The Treatment of Runaway Children (New York: Proceedings of the National Probation Association, 1926), p. 269.

without good reason, against home or other conditions as it is to appear in cases of mentally deficient individuals. A youth is especially likely to leave home if the family is large or the environment abnormal, while the lure of getting a job leads many a boy away from the family hearth.

There is a constellation of personality traits in certain boys which makes them more receptive than others to the idea of running away. It is the combination of factors in the environment which thwart natural urges and make social relationships unsatisfying that probably sets up attitudes conducive to running away. No absolute measuring rods are available for psychological material; one can only compare the runaway's behavior, accurately and consistently judged as a structural whole, with a group of other individuals under the same conditions.

It is astonishing to note how frequently a younger child finds easy times, shelter, good food, amusements, flattery, and many interests in his adventures on boats and trains or on the road. Very few people he meets seem to appreciate the likelihood that his running away will lead, as it frequently does, to serious delinquency. From the standpoint of causation the situation is very different in the case of older boys who run away: there is the spirit of adventure, rebellion against home conditions, emotional crises, desire for independence, dissatisfaction with school life, fear of disci-

pline, too complex social life, and failure to achieve an ambition or to receive recognition in their social relationships. Economic trouble or unhappy home life, where the parents do not seem to understand their children, often prompts youths to run away. When home is no longer a source of security, comfort and opportunity, they leave to find what it lacks. Occasionally they desert their homes in defiance or merely want to break the parental bonds and seek new outlets, which generally involves other offenses, such as disobedience at home or truancy from school.

Truancy develops as a rebellion against the next most frequently met authority, the school, because most of these boys are forced to do work for which they lack both capacity and interest and which is often almost impossible for them to accomplish; hence a desire to escape school difficulties is another frequent excuse for running away. Though often considered lightly, running away and truancy in childhood are in reality distinctly serious matters which may blossom directly into antisocial careers. Contrast cases of the simple offense of truancy. One boy may be avoiding a situation in which he feels inadequate and discouraged. Another has developed out of family life antagonism to all forms of authority including the school. Another has such need of recognition that he becomes truant in order to be a "regular fellow" with his companions. Still another is the victim of peculiar anxieties

which make the classroom hateful to him. Maladjustment of the child to the pattern of school life, with subsequent truancy, plays an important role as a predecessor of running away.

Nelson's study of 135 delinquent children in Brockton, Massachusetts, indicated that truancy was a factor in twenty-five per cent of the cases. The New Jersey Juvenile Delinquency Commission studied the largest number of records and found truancy reported in six thousand of the 21, 200 juvenile court cases examined, which is twenty-nine per cent. Since truancy was reported in approximately two thirds of those cases in which reference was made to school attendance, the Commission concluded that the true incidence of truancy was somewhere between twenty-nine per cent and sixty-six and six tenths per cent, probably nearer the latter figure.[2]

Truancy, youthful vagabondage, is well called the kindergarten of crime and is a forerunner of delinquency. In spite of the diversity of determinants the name of the offense provides little, if any, clue to behavior which originates in the fundamental urges, wishes, or desires of human nature.

Physical hardship is endured by runaways, who endanger their health by leading a life of irregular habits and suffering from lack of food and proper housing conditions.

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[2] William C. Kvaraceus, Juvenile Delinquency and the School, p. 145.

Most runaways living in a city never leave its environs during their rovings, and the majority of them sleep in halls, subways, and train depots. If the runaway is allowed to wander about for months, unschooled and undisciplined, he undoubtedly will fall into bad habits.

One of the acute problems affecting society is the moral peril to runaways, who are in constant danger of all kinds of environments which often lead them unwillingly to disaster. Another paramount problem to society is the psychological effect of the wandering which in many instances fosters and leads to the nurturing of the possibilities of a "hand-to-mouth" existence. There then arises the problem of reclaiming the runaway to a useful position in society, before he acquires an attitude of being defeated and rejected by life.

When there is a yearly average of 245 runaway episodes in an institution caring for about four hundred maladjusted boys, the seriousness of the problem from various angles is apparent.[3] This problem is first of all one for the home and the school. It becomes a concern of the community at large only after these two basic social institutions have failed to meet the problem in a satisfactory manner. Effort should be made to give the child a feeling of belong-

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[3] Zena C. O'Connor, _The Runaway Boy in the Correctional School_, p. 1.

ing and security in the home, adjustment in school, and an opportunity to gain social satisfaction and status in all social relationships.

If the potential runaway can be identified, special treatment can be outlined for him so that his response may be resorted to less frequently through formulating methods of treatment which will modify both the causal factors and the behavior patterns of the individual boy.

The policy of juvenile courts located in cities of a hundred thousand population and above is to return non-resident children to their homes whenever possible. It must be remembered that many of these runaways have suffered in their own homes a great deal of punishment given by way of discipline, and this has led to fear; so that the individual has been even afraid to return home. Therefore any discipline provided must be tempered by good judgment. Appealing to the development of manly self-control and encouraging a feeling that failure to face a situation bespeaks cowardliness may prove worthwhile, but they cannot be produced merely through preaching. With older boys it is often a matter of building up stronger personality traits through encouragement or affection and recognition.

Methods and details of treatment are necessarily varied and individual and must be fitted to the special requirements of the case. Substitutive activities, accompanied by

affection and response, must genuinely interest the boy. A change of school, regulation of recreation, arousing interest in athletics, conferences including representatives of all interested agencies, membership in a boys' club, regular attendance at church and Sunday school, specialized vocational training to aid in the development of a particular ability, all must be taken into consideration in the therapeutic rehabilitation of the runaway.

A serious problem is presented by the large number of boys and girls who in the course of a year run away from home and get into difficulties and so into the juvenile courts. Because many of these children are not members of the community in which they are apprehended, the courts are reluctant to accept permanent responsibility for them. Consequently they are frequently released with instructions to return home, which is often complicated by failure of their parents or local authorities to furnish money for their transportation.

As a result of experience certain standards have been developed which follow substantially those recommended by the committee on runaway children of the National Probation Association:

1. The child should be returned to his own home or to the jurisdiction of the juvenile court where he resides unless it be clearly established that it is against the best interest of the child to be returned to the home or community from which he has run away.
2. Transportation for the child to his home should be

obtained from the parents or from the home community, if possible; or if this is impossible, from sources in the community in which the child is apprehended.

3. No child should be returned to any locality until it is definitely established that he belongs there.
4. The child should be cared for in a detention home, boarding home, or elsewhere until he can be returned to his home or to the community where he belongs, reimbursement for this care to be obtained from the parents or the home community if possible.
5. The juvenile court in the community from which the child comes, in addition to the parents and guardians, should be notified of the whereabouts of the child.
6. The parents or guardian of the child should be required to come to the court if possible. If this is not possible, a probation officer or other responsible person should accompany the child to his home. If neither of these arrangements can be made, the cooperation of travelers aid societies or other welfare agencies, railroad officials, or police should be obtained to make certain that the child does return to his home under such conditions as are necessary to insure his safety and welfare.
7. Active cooperation and interest of local authorities and agencies should be obtained to insure proper treatment of such children at the first point of contact rather than allowing them to pass from community to community.[4]

Dr. Clairette Armstrong, psychologist in the Children's Court of New York City, conducted a research involving 660 runaway boys who had been arraigned in the Children's Court of New York City as delinquents by parents or others on the specific charge of deserting their homes or for other delinquencies. Some of her main conclusions were as follows:

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[4] U. S. Children's Bureau, Facts about Juvenile Delinquency, pp. 32-33.

(1) The runaway boys were somewhat younger than the average of delinquent boys.

(2) These boys' I.Q. averaged seventy-eight per cent, which is not much different on a whole from that of other groups dealt with by the court, although somewhat lower than that of public-school children.

(3) Four-fifths of these had foreign-born parents, which indicates that the conflict of culture patterns in the homes is one of the main factors.

(4) These runaway boys came from families among whom the lowest economic levels are more prevalent than among the general population. In this respect they were similar to other groups of delinquent boys. The mothers of one third of the runaways were employed. The mother was the sole support for thirteen per cent. These children were sadly neglected.

(5) More than half of the runaways had disrupted families, a far greater proportion than that for any other group. More than one fourth of them had stepparents, which was over four times as many as in the public-school group. The runaways had more radical changes in the home situations than any other group studied, and most of the family catastrophes occurred before the runaway boys were six years of age.

(6) These boys on the whole came from large families. About twelve per cent were only children, and there was a persistent tendency for the runaway to be the oldest child in the family. Nineteen per cent had half brothers and sisters, mostly younger.

(7) Overt destructive factors, such as alcoholism, immorality, amentia, psychoneurosis, psychosis, tuberculosis, and criminality, were more frequently present among the mothers of the runaways than among the mothers of boys in the two control groups.

(8) Half of the runaway group had nervous habits, such as eneuresis, masturbation, temper tantrums, sleep walking, talking, crying, and nail-biting. The runaways led in all nervous habits except sleep walking and temper tantrums.

(9) Physical defects were found to be numerous among the runaway boys.

(10) Recidivism rated thirty-six per cent in this group; they averaged two and three tenths court arraignments.

(11) A third of the runaways had had experience in orphanages.
(12) More than half of the runaways had complaints of stealing against them, the majority having stolen only from their own homes. More than four fifths of the runaways were truants. The nature of their offenses naturally caused a high rating in this respect.
(13) The runaways as a rule deserted alone, although they sometimes joined others in their wanderings.[5]

It was found that runaways resembled the average delinquent boys committed to correctional institutions in the high incidence of foreign parentage; in intelligence, since both groups were generally high borderline; in frequency of truancy charges; and in economic level of the home. Further Dr. Armstrong points out that the runaway boys

> were conditioned from the cradle in unwholesome responses and were raised on a foundation of instability. The maladjustments of parents shown in the number of families disrupted by separation, desertion, or divorce, the family pathology and uncertain economic status, infallibly have their repercussions on the child--all of which are part and parcel of the shifting background of the runaways which their reactions reflect.[6]

It may be concluded that it is the youth from unhappy or broken homes, who consequently lack a sense of belonging anywhere, that is prone to roam. Shifting a child from one parent to another causes maladjustment, often making him feel he is in the way or unwanted. Where family ties are bro-

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[5] T. Earl Sullenger, Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency, pp. 131-132.

[6] Clairette P. Armstrong, 660 Runaway Boys, p. 188.

ken, where there are stepparents, or where there is financial trouble, the youth attempts to remedy the situation by seeking for a change to dispel the feeling that he is unwanted or a burden to his family.

In the final analysis there are various psychological, sociological and educational factors stimulating running away found singly or concomitantly in the individual runaway. The data presented justify the conclusions that running away from home is not merely fortuitous. The runaway is the victim of a social system--the family in its failure to function satisfactorily as a unit and the school in its inflexibility--and is held responsible for their inability to contribute an environment to which he can adjust. Like any habit, running away becomes abnormal when persisted in to the exclusion of socially useful reactions. "When the fundamental drives of self-preservation and self-respect are jeopardized by deleterious forces, flight results normally."[7]

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 192.

CHAPTER IV

THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT

History and Legislature in Massachusetts.

The juvenile offender was for centuries treated and imprisoned in the same manner as the adult criminal. The humanitarian note in the treatment of juvenile delinquents originated in the creation of "houses of refuge" for children, the first of which was the New York House of Refuge, established in 1825, and followed by the Boston House of Refuge a year later. The first reform school for juvenile offenders was established in Massachusetts in 1847 with emphasis on treatment after their conviction. These institutions are usually referred to as industrial or training schools, developed as educational institutions rather than as reformatories.

Gradually treatment of juvenile delinquents after conviction was shifted to needed reforms in the procedure preceding punishment or correction. These reforms included special personnel, social investigations, and the gradual relaxation of the strict, technical criminal procedure applied to child offenders. The beginnings of the modern movement for the care of delinquent children were made in Massachusetts in 1869, when the presence in court of a "state agent" or his deputy was required "whenever application is made for the commitment of any child to any reformatory maintained by the

Commonwealth."[1] An 1870 statute required that cases against children under sixteen years should be heard in the Suffolk County courts "separate from the general and ordinary criminal business," while elsewhere the "hearing" should be held before probate courts instead of criminal tribunals.[2] Delinquent children, instead of being held in jails and prisons, were placed with private societies. It was required that the agent for juveniles or an assistant have an opportunity to investigate the case, attend the trial, and protect the interests of the child.

A separate session for juvenile offenders with its own court records and docket was provided for in 1877. The following year saw the appointment of the first probation officer with investigative and visitorial powers. Thus the inception of all probation occurred in Massachusetts.

Near the end of the nineteenth century, many other states adopted these features or created still others in the general movement to humanize justice and also in the growth of a scientific attitude toward behavior and its motivations. This culminated in the establishment of the juvenile court.

Establishment of the First Juvenile Court.

The first juvenile court in the country was established in Cook County, Illinois, in 1899. This comprehensive

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[1] General Laws of Massachusetts, 1869, chap. 453, sec. 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, sec. 7.

statute dealt with jurisdiction and treatment of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children.

> This act shall be liberally construed, to the end that its purpose may be carried out, to-wit: That the care, custody and discipline of a child shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents, and in all cases where it can properly be done the child be placed in an improved family home and become a member of the family by legal adoption or otherwise.[3]

All essential elements of the modern juvenile court were present:

> petition instead of complaint; summons instead of warrant; informal hearing instead of formal trial; specially designated judges; special juvenile courtroom and separate "juvenile record"; probation officers for investigations, in order "to represent the interests of the child" and to have custody over it, when necessary; supervision of the child; provision for allowing the juvenile to remain in its own home, "subject to the visitation of the probation officer"; placement of the child in a family "subject to the friendly supervision of such probation officer"; boarding it "in some suitable family home"; committing it, when necessary, to some appropriate institution; discharge therefrom by the court on recommendation of the board of managers; segregation of children sentenced to an adult institution; requirement of reports to the court from both private and public child-caring institutions receiving children from the court; appointment by the court of boards of visitation to institutions and organizations receiving children; and other provisions in like spirit.[4]

It was now officially recognized that all juvenile issues presented became problems requiring understanding, guidance, and

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[3] Laws of Illinois, 1899, sec. 21, p. 137.

[4] Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, p. 13.

protection rather than problems involving such concepts as "criminal responsibility", "guilt", "punishment".

The difference between the juvenile court and most adult courts is that before disposing of the case the judge of the juvenile court has to know much more about the delinquent, his developmental history, capacities, family situation and the like than is available at the conclusion of the first hearing. For this purpose further investigation by the probation officer is necessary as is examination in most cases by a clinic specializing in the behavior problems of children.

The purpose of the juvenile court is not necessarily to discover whether the child has committed a specific crime, but to aid him in meeting his needs normally, practically, and in harmony with the higher ideals of the community.[5] The true function of the court is to determine whether the law has been violated and whether the violation is sufficiently serious to make it necessary to place the offender under control. It further provides legal action based on social study, with a view to social treatment, in cases of delinquency requiring court action and in cases involving adjudication of custody and guardianship or enforcement of responsibilities of adults toward children.[6]

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[5] Clinton W. Areson, The Place of the Juvenile Court in the Social Welfare Field, p. 1.

[6] U. S. Children's Bureau, Social Services for Children, p. 224.

The organization of the juvenile court is based primarily on the judge and probation officers. There must be aroused in the child and the family a willingness to work with officers of the court, and a desire to cooperate in the reshaping of behavior. Broad education in the law, profound understanding of human nature, judicial temperament, infinite patience, sensitivity, kindliness, firmness, all blended with common sense, constitute desirable prerequisites for the qualifications and personality of the juvenile judge.

Essential requirements of juvenile court work, as outlined by the White House Conference of 1930, are as follows: qualified judges and probation officers, intimate procedure, investigation for basic needs, experimental attitude toward the problem, constructive use of segregation, change of environment to meet needs, probation to establish right relationships. The juvenile court has these characteristics of equity jurisdiction:

(1) It is relatively informal in its procedure.
(2) It is remedial, not punitive.
(3) It acts preventively in advance of commission of any specific wrongdoing.
(4) It employs administrative rather than advisory methods.
(5) It can adapt its action to circumstances of individual cases and so achieve a high degree of individualization, which is demanded by justice, if not always by security.[7]

There are five methods of treatment possible in juve-

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[7] Roscoe Pound, The Juvenile Court and the Law, p. 12.

nile court work, after the social investigation has been made and after the court hears the case.

1. Dismiss the petition or complaint.
2. Continue the case for a definite or indefinite period of time.
3. Place the child on probation and determine whether the child shall be allowed to remain in his own home or placed in a foster home.
4. Order the child placed in an institution.
5. Resort to restitution and fines.

Probation.

Probation received its first legal sanction in Boston in 1878, and was slow in developing until the juvenile court came into existence in 1899. It serves as a suspension of final judgment in a case, giving the offender an opportunity to improve his conduct while living as a member of the community, subject to conditions which may be imposed by the court, and under the supervision and friendly guidance of a probation officer who can inspire confidence and cope with the active problems of youth as they arise.

Broadly speaking, probation is simply a chance given to a delinquent to cure his faults himself without removing him from his home. The probability of his cure depends on the amount of counteracting forces the court is able to bring to bear with such help as the court, probation officers and

social agencies can give. The ultimate goal of successful probation is to bring about in the life of the child a new outlook or perspective, a new set of habits, a different attitude toward society and those with whom he comes in contact.

The probation officer must understand the family, interpret the family attitudes to the boy and his siblings, put him in touch with constructive forces in the community, such as boys' clubs and settlement houses, and help him gain a wholesome orientation toward life and its responsibilities as well as legitimate satisfactions.

Legislation Pertaining to Boston Juvenile Court.

The separate juvenile court was established for the City of Boston alone in 1906 with provision for appointment by the Governor and Council of a judge and two special justices, as well as a clerk, to handle offenses committed in a small section of Boston, including the business district, the North, South, and West Ends, and the Back Bay. This law provided that the sections of the statutes pertaining to juvenile delinquents

> shall be liberally construed so that the care, custody and discipline of the children brought before the court shall approximate as nearly as possible that which they should receive from their parents, and that, as far as practicable, they shall be treated, not as criminals, but as children in need of aid, encouragement and guidance; and that proceedings against children (. . .) shall not be deemed criminal proceedings.[8]

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[8] General Laws of Massachusetts, Tercentenary Edition, 1932, chap. 119, sec. 53.

Juvenile court legislation prohibits commitment to jail of those under fourteen years of age and minimizes the incarceration of those between fourteen and seventeen years, thereby reducing the danger of moral contamination from other juvenile and adult offenders. That there is need for a more uniform system of detention and for developing specially staffed detention homes is indicated by the inconsistent fact that

> a boy of twelve or over, arrested in the act of violating a law of the commonwealth, or on a warrant, may, in the discretion of the arresting officer, be committed to a lockup, police station or house of detention.[9]

Judge Harvey H. Baker.

With the creation of the Boston Juvenile Court, Governor Curtis Guild appointed Harvey Humphrey Baker as its judge, which position he held till his death in 1915. Judge Baker built the foundations of the Boston Juvenile Court and clarified for the community just what the role of the court should be. The report of his first five years in office concluded with the opinion that "a clinic for the intensive study of baffling cases which fail to respond to ordinary probationary treatment would enhance the efficiency of the court more

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[9] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Report of the Special Commission Established to Investigate the Laws Relative to Dependent, Delinquent and Neglected Children, and Children Otherwise Requiring Special Care, January, 1931, House No. 1200, p. 199.

than any other accessory."[10]

Child Guidance Clinics.

The child guidance clinic actually had its inception in two very definite modern trends of dealing with the child: first, the shift from curative to preventive measures; and second, the ever-increasing emphasis upon the study of the child in his total situation. The principal aim is to adjust the child to his environment. Child guidance is defined as that

> branch of the mental hygiene movement which is concerned with the personality and conduct disorders of childhood and which takes account of the complex interactions between the child and his environment and seeks to help him to gain a workable orientation to his world.[11]

It is primarily a preventive agency aiming not to rehabilitate the child after he has become delinquent, but rather to strike at the very roots of delinquency and maladjustment by correcting minor behavior difficulties.

Although a psychologic children's clinic was founded in Philadelphia in 1896, the first practical demonstration of a coordinated effort for child guidance was made in 1909 at the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago by Dr. William Healy and his associates. This was followed by the Judge

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[10] Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, p. 47.

[11] Bernard Glueck, Child Guidance. (Encyclopedia of the Social Services), III, 393.

Baker Foundation in Boston in 1917. In 1921 demonstration clinics were established in various cities throughout the country, traveling school clinics were developed, and the phrase, "child guidance clinic," was coined to designate the function of a special type of clinic. Subsequent developments have been extensive.

Judge Frederick P. Cabot.

Judge Frederick Pickering Cabot became children's court magistrate in 1916, and served in this capacity for sixteen years. At first he was inclined to believe that the general security of the community must take precedence over individual welfare. He gradually acquired the art of probing beneath the mere surface indications and uncovering hidden sources of trouble. During the last five or six years of his service he altered his practices; so that he was more concerned with the personality difficulties and social background of his youthful clients and stressed the informal features of the hearing. He developed the practice of seeing and talking with all delinquents before the close of their probation period and reviewing the progress of their cases. Thus he was enabled to make practical suggestions for further oversight of certain delinquents. Judge Cabot extended the work of the court, added to it the psychiatric clinic whose name honored Judge Baker, and utilized the various community resources in the court's behalf.

Judge Baker Foundation.

The friends of Judge Baker, led by Judge Cabot, established one of the earliest child guidance clinics to aid courts, the Judge Baker Foundation, in 1917. It was an established opinion that the innate and conditioned makeup of the delinquent must be studied and controlled in childhood and that antisocial attitudes and conduct may and do originate surprisingly early in the lives of future delinquents and criminals.

Examination of court cases forms one part of the work. Various social agencies, schools and private families utilize the clinic for examination of "problem children" who, though technically not delinquent, require vocational or educational advice.

The policy of the clinic is to regard the child as a growing personality. This clinical examination is followed by a social examination which includes the following points:

(1) judgments as to the appearance, personality, and reliability of the informant;
(2) details of the nationality, education, habits, occupation, and standards of each parent;
(3) home conditions and family relations;
(4) significant points in the developmental history of the juvenile delinquent, his habits, school record, industrial history, interests, and companions, and his personality traits as reflected in his home life, school conduct, and contacts with companions in industry;
(5) problems presented by the child (e.g. stealing, truancy, bunking out); finally
(6) suggestions (recommendations) as to how the case

should be treated by the court.[12]

The physical examination not only discovers any physical conditions relating to the delinquency but studies the child's health, permitting recommendations for normal well-being and for the vocational, educational, and social activities for which the individual seems best fitted.

Psychologic and psychiatric examinations determine the intelligence level, special abilities and disabilities, the ability to coordinate mental functions rather than capacity, personality characteristics, and mental content. After these examinations the child is allowed to tell his "own story" alone to a psychiatrist, psychologist, or other especially qualified worker, who then explains that the purpose of the clinic and the juvenile court is not punishment but help, and that this interview is not compulsory.

Before the judge disposes of the case, after the examination, a conference of the clinic staff is held for the purpose of analyzing, interpreting, and summarizing the examination, and making recommendations for treatment to the court. Finally to check on the progress of its cases a follow-up program is carried on.

Judge John F. Perkins.

Judge John F. Perkins assumed the duties of magistrate

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[12] Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents, p. 51.

of the children's tribunal in 1932, since which time he has promoted the idea that delinquents have offended laws of society, and that the community's welfare, as well as that of the delinquent, requires that the same treatment should be applied to all who reject the rules of conduct of their community. The same penalty is given to everyone committing a similar offense, minimizing differentiated treatment at this point in the case. If psychiatric or medical treatment is indicated after investigation, the probation officer will see that treatment is available only after the offender is made to realize the extent of his offense.

In evaluating the work of the court, Judge Perkins felt that there was a need to make probation more effective and that the main problem of delinquency was one of training. With a gift for analysis and insight seldom seen equaled, he strengthened the work of the court and as an experiment added a clinic to the court--the Citizenship Training Division, which will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE CITIZENSHIP TRAINING DEPARTMENT OF THE BOSTON JUVENILE COURT

Checking incipient juvenile delinquency from the bench in Boston has advanced far. The underlying idea of the Boston court has always been to get at and correct the causes of misconduct by the young, at the same time insisting that the offender be dealt with from the standpoint of rehabilitation rather than punishment.

In illness if the disease can be cured, the body automatically restores itself to health. But living with other people is a skilled occupation; and after the cause of trouble has been removed, education is still necessary through self-discipline and persistent and systematic effort. Less than ten per cent are emotionally ill and really need therapy, while over ninety per cent are badly trained and need re-education as a preparation for life.

Judge Perkins felt that to make probation effective a period of conditioning was necessary. It would be necessary also to get a well-rounded picture of each boy. With this in mind the Citizenship Training Department was founded in 1936 to make a systematic, progressive study of each case, to see whether the boy could be helped to develop self-discipline, and to provide psychiatric treatment when necessary. There are many cases, of course, in which the need for medical, den-

tal, or psychiatric treatment is indicated. When attention is required, it is given. But there is no disposition to permit a young offender to feel that no blame attaches to himself. Some of the reason for antisocial behavior was his, and he must shoulder it. At the request of the presiding justice of a juvenile session in a Boston district court, other boys on probation are admitted to the Citizenship Training Department.

Referrals.

All boys between twelve and seventeen years of age, who are placed on probation by the Boston Juvenile Court, are required to attend the Citizenship Training Department immediately following their court appearance, for twelve weeks, five days a week, from four until six in the afternoon. Exceptions, if any, are made at the discretion of the presiding justice. Boys placed on probation in the District Courts of Greater Boston are admitted to the department at the request of the presiding Justice of the Juvenile Session of such courts.

Immediately after the boy's first appearance in court, after disposition of the case is made by the judge, the boy is referred formally by the judge to a worker of the department. Thus the judge is enabled to explain to the boy and his parents that for the first twelve weeks of his probationary period the boy is under complete control and custody of the department, thus establishing a working relationship between the

boy, his home, and the department. This procedure also prepares the parents for the worker's initial visit to the home to talk over their son's problem.

Until April, 1942, this training period was for eight weeks, and there was no formal referral in court of the boy by the judge to the department. The boy's attendance at the department was required immediately after his appearance and disposition by the court.

Purpose.

The purposes of the Citizenship Training Department, as set forth in a leaflet entitled, "The Citizenship Training Department of the Boston Juvenile Court," issued in November, 1941, are as follows:

> To study the nature and scope of the boy's problem, from the standpoint of his personality and his specific reason for being in Court, and to prepare him to accept a subsequent treatment program.
>
> To outline and initiate, in collaboration with the probation officer, a program of treatment for each individual boy. This program must be one that has the possibility of being carried out.
>
> To assist probation officers, club leaders, and social workers in the execution of a follow-up program. The department is not intended to carry out to completion the treatment of the boy but it should, through knowledge of community resources, help the probation officer to see that each individual boy is placed in the hands of an organization or individuals who will carry out the treatment.[1]

Being placed on probation does not mean that a boy is

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[1] Boston Juvenile Court, The Citizenship Training Department, p. 1.

free to go on his way irresponsibly until he is caught again. The true purpose of punishment is correction, but intelligent and friendly guidance can accomplish what punishment never can. Individual approach is necessary for every case, as there is no such thing as identical problems and no set patterns to follow in their solution.

The principal aim is to adjust the child to his environment by the development of the individual for social living. Tremendous losses result from intolerable social situations, from which it is sometimes better to remove the boy than to require him to make adjustment to it. The second aim is prevention of undesirable personality traits from developing into chronic nervous disorders of delinquency. The third aim is community education through teaching the adult world to see child life as the child sees it. To detect and treat all tendencies which might make children into problem adults is its ultimate aim.

Organization.

At present the staff consists of a Director with extensive experience of social work and in the field of probation, a Boys' Worker, a Manual Training Teacher, a Case Worker, two part-time psychologists from the Judge Baker Child Guidance Clinic, and a Secretary.

Headquarters are maintained in a section of the Boston Young Men's Christian Union at 48 Boylston Street, Boston.

Offices and classrooms have been equipped for the specific use of the department, and the gymnasium and basketball courts are available at designated times during the day.

The department functions directly under the Judge of the Juvenile Court, an arrangement which permits its operation to be so regulated as to meet the special needs of the court, in turn serving the immediate needs of the community.

A committee consisting of the Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court, representatives of the City Wide Boys' Workers Conference, Judge Baker Guidance Center, Boston Council of Social Agencies, and the Boston Young Men's Christian Union act in an advisory capacity to the Judge of the Juvenile Court.

Methods of Studying the Boy.

The department is equipped to make medical, psychological, sociological, and psychiatric examinations of children who are brought to the attention of the juvenile court. Through these examinations the court obtains scientific information concerning the total personality of the child. This is invaluable in aiding to meet the needs of the child adequately. Data are collected pertaining to the child's heredity, ancestry, social adjustments, conflicts, habits, companions, recreation, interests, school records, and health.

To discover any physical defects which may affect the boy's adjustment and which may determine the extent of his

participation in the athletic program, a thorough medical examination is made. Close observation of the boy at this time and his response in the group offer a means of determining the extent of psychiatric investigation and treatment needed. The physical examinations are made at the Preventive Clinic of the Boston Dispensary, where follow-up steps for corrective treatment and measures are carried out.

The Terman, Dearborn, and Stanford Achievement tests are given to each boy during his second or third week at the department, at which time the leader gains an insight into the boy's mental capacity, aptitudes and mechanical skills. These tests disclose the boy's school achievement and whether or not he is doing work on the level of his ability. The psychologist administers the Wechsler-Bellevue Test if the results of the Dearborn and Terman tests differ too greatly.

Through home and school visits, as well as visits to other social agencies to whom the boy and his family are known, the case worker compiles the social history. Observations are made on each boy throughout the twelve weeks. His behavior is noted in discussion, group games, athletics, in the locker room, and in a variety of social situations. Interviews, arranged with each boy at various times during the twelve weeks, aim at a complete understanding of his mental attitude toward all phases of his home life.

After the examinations are made, the data are summa-

rized and put into shape for discussion. On the Thursday following the boy's eighth week in attendance at the department his case is staffed at the case conference. This conference is attended by the Director, the Case Worker, the Boys' Worker, and the two psychologists. A synthesis of the findings of the complete diagnosis reveals the boy's problem and enables the formulation of a constructive plan for future guidance of the boy's behavior.

Aims of Treatment.

Individual problems are studied by a competent staff. Certain personalities elude and appear to baffle all corrective effort. Such cases require concentrated individual study and treatment. The department endeavors to aid the boy in developing a healthy attitude toward the law, the family, and the institutions under which he must live.

The program is divided into the following activities. From four to five o'clock on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, there is supervised work in the gymnasium. The boy acquires not only physical development but also a sense of fair play, good sportsmanship, and skill in the art of getting along with others. From five to six o'clock on these afternoons an opportunity is provided for participation in informal discussion, which usually centers around probation, a movie, various plays, the reading and discussion of the lives of important people, and lessons in civics. The themes of the discussion

are usually teamwork, the rules of the game, and a sense of accomplishment. These form a basis for verbal consideration of the science of living in a community and conforming to the standards and laws of society therein. A woodworking class is conducted on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, providing a sense of quality and thoroughness which cannot be conveyed by oral means. It is also an "essential democratic experience, because democratic experience comes not just from living but primarily from working together."[2]

The department assists the boy in developing insight into the motives of his own behavior through techniques and skills employed through the medium of interpretation in the discussion classes as well as by means of individual case work. The boy is aroused to make his own effort in every phase of the program. Formerly he met with prohibitions; now he is afforded an opportunity for recognition. Activity, participation, and effort are necessary on his part, even in deciding the most appropriate form of treatment. To give him a sense of achievement, he is helped to complete successfully certain types of activity. Due to his experience at the department he usually becomes much more emotionally mature before completion of the twelve weeks' training period. He becomes more stable and learns to accept a certain amount of

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[2] Boston Juvenile Court, Report of the Evaluation Committee of the Citizenship Training Department, p. 56.

responsibility for his conduct, reactions, and his assignments.

Intelligent treatment of young offenders requires a knowledge of the personal and environmental conditions which may have a bearing on the delinquent behavior of the individual boy. Intensely difficult behavior problems are found to be actuated by causes utterly unsuspected until these are skilfully uncovered and dug out by the psychologists. As a result of treatment the boys often become normal and friendly. Success is more certain when problems are worked out with, rather than for, the boys. Social and economic factors contributing to maladjustment must be understood and dealt with, as well as the physical, mental, and emotional disturbances of the boy.

Follow-up.

On completion of the twelve weeks' training period the boy is returned to the court, where the worker reviews the department's findings with the judge and the probation officer. The boy is brought into the courtroom; and the judge makes further disposition based on the department's recommendations, which he usually orders carried out even though the ultimate decision as to the future rests with him.

Membership in clubs, church groups, settlement houses, and other community gathering places is encouraged, after these activities are interpreted to the boy. Force and discipline are not effective in introducing him to recreation. By

sending the boy a letter, a duplicate copy of which is sent to the probation officer, reminding the boy of his appointment, the department follows up on a boy's appointments at the Preventive Clinic. The probation officer carries out all other steps for social and follow-up treatment, which may also be carried on through one of the following agencies: neighborhood clubs or settlements; the church, through personal contact with the clergy or staff; foster home placement; and summer camps. As it was in the beginning, youth still needs care and guidance.

> Delinquency is not a fixed category by which boys can be classified. Delinquent behavior is found in all types of boys regardless of station, race, culture, or environment, and is seen in all possible ranges of the normal, pathological, and defective.
>
> Many normal boys are delinquent because of a lack of training in the fundamental qualities of good citizenship and good manhood. They are often not vicious or pathological, but essentially untrained.
>
> No particular skill has preeminence in the treatment of delinquent behavior. Insights from Education, Psychology, Psychiatry, Sociology, Medicine, Religion, all must be used in an adequate treatment of the problem.[3]

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[3] Boston Juvenile Court, op. cit., p. 3.

CHAPTER VI

PRESENTATION OF CASES

Selection of the following cases has been made on the basis of the trait of running away. Considered as a whole, the task here has been one of gathering factual material not so much for generalizations, as ascertainment of methods and facts to help towards the making of practical diagnoses and prognoses. Taken into consideration are the findings of the medical examinations and the intelligence tests, as well as the material resulting from observations of and interviews with the boy during his attendance at the department. Each case is followed by a brief summary. The study of these cases has been broken down into three categories. The first group is concerned with boys who were ordered committed to Industrial School after violation of probation. The second group involves boys who were placed in foster homes because of unsatisfactory home conditions. The final group is concerned with those cases wherein the boys were allowed to remain in their own homes after completion of their probationary period at the Citizenship Training Department[1], and discloses whether or not the training was able to counteract the bad homes.

A. BOYS COMMITTED TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL AFTER VIOLATION OF PROBATION

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[1] For the remainder of this chapter the Citizenship Training Department will be referred to as the C.T.G.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

CASE I

John Drake, fourteen years old, a pale, slim, good looking boy of medium height, is very quiet and retiring, but rather effeminate in speech. He is in the freshman year of Roxbury Memorial High School, and has an I.Q. of 96. John is an average student and is no problem, other than being a runaway. He occasionally attends church.

John lives with his father and stepmother in a two room apartment, located in a poor section of Jamaica Plain. The father was born in Boston in 1900, and his formal education ended with the completion of grammar school. He works steadily at the Bethlehem Shipyards. He has been divorced once, deserted John's mother who died six months later, and married his present wife after having known her for only one week. Both mother and father go on alcoholic sprees, but the home situation as a whole is fairly good. John is described by his father as a disorganizing factor in the home and a problem child for many years. Even while his mother lived, he was guilty of petty stealing and lying. On one occasion, when he was about seven years old, he set a house on fire. During the time between his mother's death and his father's remarriage, the father placed him in five foster homes, and he ran away from all of them.

John's stepmother, born in Boston in 1902, had divorced her first husband ten years ago. Her education ended with the seventh grade. She readily admits that John is far ahead of her and that she cannot understand him. The boy mentions his mother often, which the stepmother resents. This is the source of much conflict in the home. The stepmother is very domineering and controls her husband, who is a very weak, passive individual.

On the complaint of his parents that the boy would not remain at home but insisted on running away, John was found delinquent and ordered to report to the C.T.G. for twelve weeks' training and guidance.

During his attendance at the C.T.G. the boy was courteous and cooperative in all phases of the program. He was always quite withdrawn from the group, but friendly and talkative to the individual. The worker effected mutual interpretation between the parents and the boy, in hopes that the family unit could be preserved. Family life functioned smoothly till a misunderstanding arose to reopen all the old wounds. The worker then decided to prepare John for summer placement. From the outset he was not receptive of this idea, but be-

cause he continued to be a disconcerting factor in the home it was imperative that he be taken out of the home, at least temporarily. John was extremely fond of having his own way and was persistent and domineering. For this reason John's and his stepmother's personalities were forever clashing. By continually comparing his mother and stepmother John seemed intent on breaking up his father's second marriage. Finally the worker made arrangements with the Children's Aid Association worker for permanent placement for the boy. The following morning the stepmother reported John missing from home. A warrant was issued, and because of the violation of probation Judge Conroy ordered the boy committed to Lyman School for Boys.

Summary.

Here is the case of a boy who did not have the loving care he was entitled to and was placed in foster homes during his early years. He had good reason, therefore, to feel rejected. John loved his mother and loathed his passive father for having deserted her, which subsequently resulted in his permanent separation from her. More intensely did John detest his domineering stepmother for attempting to take his mother's place in his affections. The boy by his anti-social behavior was attempting to punish both parents. As neither parent was able to understand, or attempted to understand, the boy, placement was advisable.

CASE II

John Eames, a small, thin boy of thirteen, is in the seventh grade of the Dwight School. His non-academic ability is average, and his academic ability is at the dull normal level. His I.Q. is 79. The boy attends church and the sacraments regularly and was a member of the Roxbury Boys' Club for a while. The family is not known to any social agency. John is a problem child in school, is pampered, and always has plenty of money.

The boy lives with his parents in a twenty-one room brick house which they own. Eleven of these rooms are rented to eleven lodgers. The home is located in a neighborhood which is quite unwholesome for children.

The father was born in Canada in 1900 and became an American citizen twenty-five years ago. He claims to have graduated from Gran Mere College, located in Quebec. Since 1927 he has been a metaphysician or divine healer. Prior to this he was a carpenter. The family has no other source of income.

The mother was born in Canada in 1903 and came to this country thirty years ago. Her formal education ended with the completion of grammar school. She is a very sweet, but mentally dull, individual, who looks upon her husband as a god.

A warrant was issued for John, who disappeared from home after stealing a small sum of money from a member of the family. The boy was found delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Lyman School, and ordered to attend the C.T.G. for twelve weeks. The father stated, "John has a compulsion to do these things." The chief problem appeared to be that the father refused to accept the fact that John was not mentally equipped to take advantage of a college education, which the father had planned for him.

John attended the C.T.G. program, where he appeared to be a spoiled child, somewhat flighty and inattentive. He could give no reason for running away from home, attributing it to some strange power over which he had no control. The boy was defensive, cagey and very impressionable, except when face to face with discipline. Institutional treatment was first contemplated, but a suitable placement was unable to be found at this time. Then foster home placement was considered; and while this was not deemed to be the ultimate answer, it was felt that this type of placement would accomplish more than keeping the boy in his own home. The Catholic Charitable Bureau accepted John for placement; but during the interim, while arrangements were pending, the boy got into further trouble at home by stealing money, cashing war bonds belonging to his father, and remaining away from home for several nights. Judge Peak revoked the suspended order and committed the boy to Lyman School for violation of probation.

Summary.

This boy came from an inadequate home. The father had planned to send his son to college, and he refused to accept

the fact that John was a dull normal child. He excused the boy's antisocial behavior by stating, "John has a compulsion to do these things." This points to the fact that the father believed the boy abnormal, but not mentally dull. It was felt that the boy would not prove loyal to foster parents, but that institutional care would be preferable as a disciplinary measure for a boy of his age. After much discussion the worker finally convinced the boy's father that because of academic limitations John could not possibly achieve the educational goal set for him. It is essential, however, that the boy be removed from his present home environment to offset his personality limitations and overindulgent parents.

CASE III

John Ivers, a fairly good looking, well developed boy of fifteen, is in the eighth grade of the Howard Taft School. He is a problem in school and is truant frequently. His I.Q. is 102. He does not attend church, nor has he ever been a member of any boys' club. The family is known to the S.P.C.C., O.P.W., the Family Society, and the courts.

John lives with his mother in a one room apartment in a large apartment building, located in a good residential section of Allston. The father, from whom the mother has been separated for several years, was born in Boston in 1890. He was dismissed from the Boston Fire Department because of chronic alcoholism, and his present whereabouts is unknown. The mother, a tall, hard looking woman, who has been reported intoxicated on many occasions, is employed in Boston. She appears to be thoroughly lacking in parental love, understanding and interest in her child. From the various agency records there is shown a history of repeated alcoholism, poor parental example, indifference, neglect and lack of proper supervision in the home. John's sister, Frances, who is nineteen years old, works with her mother, but lives with friends.

Wearing a sailor cap and dungarees, John was picked

up by the Shore Patrol, sleeping on a bench at the North Station, and on being questioned admitted he was a runaway. The mother was indifferent about the whole situation and told the judge she thought he was in her sister's home in Quincy. The boy was found delinquent, given a suspended sentence to Shirley, told to report to the C.T.G., and placed on probation.

At the C.T.G. John appeared to be friendly, but at the same time quite cautious in his manner. During the worker's first interview with the boy, he was chatty, engaging in a moderate amount of unimportant talk. He appeared to resent either direct or indirect questioning, and seemed to weigh his answers very carefully. As the boy participated in the C.T.G. program for less than two weeks, no observations of him in the group were recorded.

The boy absented himself after attending the C.T.G. for a short time. A summons was issued the boy's mother because of his absence from the C.T.G. and the mother's failure to answer a special delivery letter sent to notify her of John's absence. The mother appeared the next day, reporting that John had left home; and she did not know where he was. She appeared to be indifferent about the whole matter. The boy was finally picked up by the downtown police and brought to court, where the judge revoked the suspended order. The boy was committed to the Industrial School at Shirley for violation of probation, since he had run away from home two weeks ago.

Summary.

John is a product of a disorganized home, unwholesome influences, and poor social environment. His mother works, and he is without adequate supervision. Because his father has failed to render any financial assistance, his mother has assumed an attitude of complete indifference in refusing to be bothered or inconvenienced in any way by John. The boy is rejected by both parents and consequently has lacked provision for good identifications. The mother was inadequate, and the boy had never been given any loving care. Plans had been formulated to procure a good foster home placement, where he

could receive proper discipline, social values and adequate supervision. His short stay at the C.T.G. offered little opportunity to attempt the necessary therapy.

GROUP SUMMARY

In each of the cases presented in this first group the boy was ordered committed to Industrial School after violation of probation. Although the boy was the only child in each of these homes, both parents were present in one case, only the mother was present in another case, and the father and stepmother were present in the third case. In all instances the parents were inadequate; and parental alcoholism was a definite factor in two of the cases, which added to the lack of loving care and feeling of rejection experienced by the boys involved, both of whom possessed average intelligence. On the other hand the remaining case presented a product of too much attention on the part of overindulgent parents, who were unwilling to accept the boy's academic limitations of his dull normal intelligence in planning for him a college education. In Case I the boy, who had previously run away from five foster homes, was a disorganizing factor in the home and a problem child for several years, although he was no problem in school, other than being a runaway. The boy in Case II was a problem child in school, was pampered to excess in the home, and always had plenty of money. In Case III the boy was a problem in school and was frequently truant. Since he attend-

ed the C.T.G. for less than two weeks, no observations were recorded. In all these cases treatment proved ineffectual in overcoming the inadequacy of the home. There was a definite need to remove each boy from his present home environment and place him in surroundings which would provide proper discipline, social values, and adequate supervision.

B. BOYS PLACED IN FOSTER HOMES BECAUSE OF UNSATISFACTORY HOME CONDITIONS

CASE IV

James Kay, fourteen, a slim, medium sized, rather shy boy, is in the seventh grade of parochial school and has an I.Q. of 100. His behavior and scholarship are good, and he attends church regularly. James is not a member of any organized club or settlement house.

The boy lives with his father, stepmother, and a younger stepsister and stepbrother, in a five room apartment in a residential section of Dorchester. This neighborhood has sufficient standing and recreational facilities to be termed a non-delinquent area. The father was born in Boston in 1898 and went as far as the seventh grade in school. The man admits he is upset and puzzled about the boy's behavior and is unable to handle him.

The stepmother was born in Ireland and went as far as the third grade in school. She married James's father after his first wife had died when James was only two years old. The father sent James to Ireland to live with his aunt, and he remained there until he was thirteen years old.

As a result of being found, dirty, and unkempt, in Scollay Square at 6:30 A.M., the boy was brought to juvenile court. He admitted he had been sleeping in doorways and all-night theatres. The boy was found delinquent, put on probation and ordered to attend the C.T.G.

At the C.T.G. James failed to attend regularly due to his lack of interest. He was distant, unfriendly and uncommunicative. He claimed to be happy at home and said that he was well treated. When disciplined, he showed resentment. He seldom became friendly with any member of the group and rarely

showed any cheerfulness. He was aloof from the leaders and found it impossible to make friends. He had no skill in any phase of the program. James's stepmother seemed most inadequate in her management and supervision of not only James but of her own two younger children. She persisted in working even after the judge advised her to discontinue it. The reason for this request was James's continual violation of conditions of probation. The stepmother told the worker that she had given up work, but she had not done so. The worker spent much time in interpreting the boy's need of proper discipline and training. As the boy ran away three different times, his stepmother complained on several other occasions that he was unmanageable. This prompted the worker to place James in a good foster home, where he would receive firm, but kind, discipline and training.

Summary.

This boy's father and stepmother were comparative strangers to him. He felt that his father had rejected him when he sent him, at the age of two, to live with his aunt in Ireland, where he remained until he was thirteen. He was attempting to punish his parents by his antisocial behavior. It seems that the boy's stepmother is most inadequate, indifferent and uncooperative both in refusing to accept the advice to stop work and in caring for the family, when there is no financial necessity for her being out of the home. In a case of this type part-time therapy at the C.T.G. was ineffective due to lack of cooperation and understanding in the home.

CASE V

David Carey, twelve years old, a tall, good looking boy, is in the sixth grade. His conduct and marks are poor, but his unsatisfactory grades are probably due to his constant changing of schools. The boy is interested in basketball and track, and enjoys reading mystery stories. He goes to the public schools and irregularly attends church and the sacraments. Mentally he has average intelligence. Physically he

is normal, though undernourished.

David lives with his mother in a two room kitchenette apartment on Beacon Hill. The boy is an illegitimate child. His mother was born in Boston in 1907, is a high school graduate, and at the present time is employed in a defense plant. A married man who visits her quite frequently is thought to be the boy's father. The boy has been with her very little. For the first six years he was boarded with a woman who was never reimbursed for the child's maintenance. After this he lived with his mother for short intervals, and the remainder of the time was spent in institutions.

As a result of being picked up around the theatre district for begging money, David was brought to court, where he admitted having run away from home the week before. He had maintained himself by shining shoes and slept in hallways at night. The boy was found delinquent and ordered to report to the C.T.G. for twelve weeks.

At the C.T.G. the boy showed a good deal of immaturity and hyperactivity. He confided to the worker that he was unhappy at home, because his mother nagged him; so he refused to go home. As the worker was unable to make arrangements for him to spend the night at a temporary home, he explained that it would be necessary for him to spend another night in his own house and accompanied the boy home. The worker, after talking to the mother, told her to be present with the boy in court the following morning. The worker reviewed the case with the judge and recommended that the boy be placed with the Children's Aid Association, because the home was morally, physically and emotionally unfit for the boy. The mother agreed to this arrangement, inasmuch as she felt that there was no alternative.

Summary.

Here is the case of a boy who from his infancy did not have the loving care he was entitled to. From his sixth year he had been moved about considerably. The mother was inadequate in that she did not know the needs of a boy that age. As she was working, he was not getting the needed care and supervision. The worker felt that removal from the home was necessary and placement by the Children's Aid, advisable.

CASE VI

John Olson, sixteen, a tall, good looking, well mannered boy, is in the second year of the South Boston High School and has an I.Q. of 115. He is a problem child in school and is habitually truant. This habit started the Fall before his mother died, when she was not able to get the boy up in time for school. John was given a chance by the school authorities to obtain a working certificate by securing employment, but he was not interested in working. He is regular in attendance at church and receives the sacraments frequently. The boy was formerly a member of the Roxbury Boys' Club, but he lost interest.

John lives with his father, brother and sister in a six room apartment of a three family house. The neighborhood is a fairly good residential one. The father, born in Boston in 1905, is a high school graduate. He is a very quiet, retiring, and passively helpless type of man, who has been employed for the last twenty-five years as a bus driver. The mother, who was the dominant force in the household, died in 1944. The father admits that John is a problem. The home, while a happy and respectable one, is not adequate for John, who is sorely in need of proper supervision and discipline.

In the early morning hours the boy was picked up while sleeping on a bench in the train depot. In court he readily admitted having run away from home the day before. He could give no reason for his actions and was not upset by his court appearance. John was found delinquent, placed on probation and ordered to attend the C.T.G.

John, an excellent athlete, did very well in the gymnasium program. He was interested in the discussion classes, and his answers were always direct and concise. When brought to task for his omissions, he could always see the errors of his way and would express his intention of reforming. However, his good intentions were short-lived, and he would lapse into his old habits once again. He associated with several boys who had been in court and who had apparently avoided punishment. It would seem from the boy's actions that he too thought he could continue to flout authority without suffering the consequences, if he had political intervention. The worker spent much time in explaining to the boy that he could not continue to maintain this attitude, unless he wished to pay the penalty. The need for supervision was impressed on the boy's father. As John was being surrendered because of violation of his probation by non-attendance at school and the C.T.G., the boy ran away and was picked up in a stolen car.

The judge turned the boy over to the Division of Child Guardianship, and he was placed with the Children's Aid Association.

Summary.

While his mother was alive to watch over him, John kept out of trouble. With the relaxation of his mother's vigil, the boy began his truancy, seeking bad companions and making the most of his newly found freedom. This he was able to do, as his father was a passive, retiring, helpless type, who worked steadily. The home, while a happy and respectable one, was not adequate for John, who was strongly in need of proper supervision and discipline. In addition he sought the wrong companions and was eadily led. Under such circumstances removal from the present home and environment was necessary.

GROUP SUMMARY

This group of cases studied involved placement of the boys in foster homes, because this action was obviously best for their welfare in view of unsatisfactory home conditions. All of the boys possessed average intelligence. Only one parent was present in each of these homes, which were located in fairly good residential districts. In the first case the boy felt rejected, having been sent to live with an aunt in Ireland for eleven years. He was now with his father, stepmother, stepbrother and stepsister. The stepmother was inadequate in her management and supervision of all of the children. In the second of these cases the boy, an illegitimate child, lacked

loving care since infancy and was rejected by his mother, who boarded him out for six years and placed him in institutions intermittently for most of the remaining time. He was now living with his mother. The third boy lived with his father, brother, and sister. All of these parents were employed and so were out of the home the greater part of the day. In Case IV the boy's behavior and scholarship were good. He claimed to be happy and well treated at home, but the stepmother complained that he was unmanageable. The conduct and marks of the boy in Case V were poor, but he was handicapped to a certain degree by a constant change of schools. He was unhappy at home, because his mother nagged him. In Case VI the boy was a problem in school, from which he was habitually truant. In his leisure time he sought the wrong companions and was easily led. There was no apparent reason for his running away. The treatment and training in each of these cases was unsuccessful due to the following unsatisfactory home conditions: lack of cooperation and understanding in the home of the boy in Case IV, where the stepmother was inadequate and indifferent; upbringing in degradation without thought to moral, physical, and emotional welfare of the boy in Case V; inadequate supervision and discipline, although the home was a happy and respectable one, in Case VI. For these reasons removal from the home was considered necessary and placement, advisable.

C. BOYS LEFT IN THEIR OWN HOMES

CASE VII

Herbert Good, a tall, rather awkward boy of thirteen, is a ninth grade pupil in the Mary Curley School. He does average school work and intends to go to English High School next year. His I.Q. is 107, and he is no problem in school. Herbert is a regular attendant at church and the sacraments. He has never been a member of any neighborhood club, claiming he was never interested.

The boy lives with his mother, sister, and three brothers in a five-room apartment in a six-family house, located in a poor residential neighborhood of Roxbury. The father, from whom the mother states she has been separated for two years, is employed as a furniture mover. He was born in Indianapolis in 1890 and is a high school graduate. The mother, who was born in Boston in 1901 and went as far as the seventh grade, is a small, nervous woman with a cardiac condition. She claims that her "husband" is alcoholic and argumentative, and that by mutual consent they separated because they just could not "make a go of it". Both parents were married before, and the mother is divorced from her first husband. She left this man's home during his absence and went to live with an Edward Mc Kay, a married man, and bore him five children. These children were given the mother's maiden name of Good. She is a permanent invalid and her daughter, Florence, takes care of the home. The family is known to the S.P.C.C., Children's Friend Society and the Suffolk Superior Court, where the parents were found guilty of adultery in 1928.

On complaint of his parents Herbert was picked up at the North Station, after being missing from his home for four days. The boy told the judge he ran away because he had an argument with his mother at home. He stated that he went to the North Station merely to sit there, and denied he intended to leave Boston. The father stated that he has experienced considerable trouble with Herbert, because he persists in disobeying and in wanting everyone in the family to conform to his wishes. He will not take any orders from his invalid mother or older sister who keeps house. The boy was found delinquent and ordered to attend the C.T.G. for twelve weeks.

At the C.T.G. Herbert was found to be cooperative and interested in all phases of the program. In the gym class he was slow in his reactions. In the woodworking class he was very quiet and attentive, but his work was only of medium

grade. His manner was always quiet, friendly and compatible with the boys and the leaders. In personal interviews he was amicable and prone to discuss his real feelings in regard to his arguments with his sister and mother. From these interviews and several talks with his mother and sister it was found that he was very fond of his mother and sister, but was oversensitive and somewhat immature. He was inclined to be quite egocentric and introversive. Much interpretation was done with Herbert, his sister and mother. It is felt that he is improving, as he cultivates a wider range of activities, instead of simply dreaming. The worker has made arrangements for the boy to spend the summer working in one of the hotels in the White Mountains. The boy was encouraged to join the Y.M.C.A. or the C.Y.O.

Summary.

This boy evidently wanted to take his father's place in the home, as he was bossy, overbearing and argumentative. As he cultivated a wider range of interests and entered actively into them, his antisocial behavior lessened greatly. In spite of the mother's background the home was a fairly happy one. With a little interpretation of Herbert's needs to both the mother and sister the boy was able to adjust nicely in his own home. It is not known whether the boy is aware of the status of his parents.

CASE VIII

John Howe, fifteen, a slim medium sized boy, is repeating the eighth grade in the Prince School and not doing too well this year. His I.Q. is 100. The boy has been rather troublesome in school, but not bad enough to be classified a problem child. John is irregular in attendance at church and the sacraments. He has been an active member of the Y.M.C.A. The boy likes to read funny books, but his mother will not allow them in the house.

John lives with his mother and eleven-year-old brother in five rooms in an apartment house, located in the Back Bay near Symphony Station. The neighborhood is a poor residential

one, having a high delinquency rate. The father, whom the mother describes as being irresponsible and promiscuous, deserted her eleven years ago. He was born in Pittsfield, Vermont, in 1890, and he went as far as the second year of high school. The family was active on public welfare.

The mother, a careworn, fidgety and nervous woman, was born in Boston in 1895. She is inadequate and unable to manage John, who from her description of his behavior is portrayed as a rather stubborn, badly disciplined and untrained boy. From his third or fourth year John lived in Vermont with his paternal grandmother until she died a year ago. At this time the boy returned to Boston to live with his mother, who persists in treating him as a little boy, scolding and nagging him within the home, and making excuses for the boy outside the home. The mother claims that John has a disagreeable disposition like his father's, and she believes that the boy's grandmother alienated the boy's affections while he lived with her in Vermont, thus turning him against her. The mother drinks, occasionally to excess. A psychometric test gave her a mental age of 11.2 and an I.Q. of 70. The mother is unable to handle the boy and justifies his bad conduct by blaming the school, teachers and his grandmother.

Having been questioned by police who found him sleeping late at night on a bench on Boston Common, John admitted in a very surly manner that he had run away from home two days before. He was brought to juvenile court, where he was adjudged delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the C.T.G. for twelve weeks.

At the C.T.G. he chafed at the various requirements, and conformed with reluctance. After a month of firm but kind discipline, he became more cooperative and even volunteered to help whenever necessary. Being a good athlete, he was able to compete with boys much bigger than he. The boy was well behaved and a steady worker, but he did not have enough confidence in himself to do good work. In the discussion classes he rarely volunteered information; but when he did, he showed a fair grasp os social situations. In the group John's chief difficulty was his inability to control his temper. The worker spent much time in discussing and interpreting the need for his good behavior, and at the end of twelve weeks' attendance at the C.T.G. the boy's general attitude and behavior at home, in school, and at the C.T.G. had improved greatly. It was recommended to the judge that John's case be continued until the closing of school, with a minimum amount of supervision, in the event that the home situation might not improve, necessitating placement of the boy. It was decided that the worker

interpret the boy's needs to his mother and build up his ego; so that he would not deem it necessary to be always on the defensive.

Summary.

This home situation was not an ideal one inasmuch as John and his mother were practically strangers to each other, as the boy had lived with his grandmother since he was three or four years old. Death of his grandmother forced his return to his mother, which was the main cause of his feeling rejected. Then too the mother continually nagged her son, identifying him with his father whom she had reason to hate for having deserted her. Consequently the boy suffered an intense lack of love, appreciation, and security. John's ego was weak and required building up. Primarily it was necessary that he be taught self-discipline. Toward these ends the members of the staff treated him kindly, but firmly, and he gradually learned that recognition had to be earned. Realizing that he needed self-confidence and felt quite inferior, they encouraged him to measure up to his capacity and praised him when praise was due. Much interpretation of the boy's needs was conveyed to his mother. Subsequent to his leaving the jurisdiction of the C.T.G., John has been involved in no further trouble.

CASE IX

Arthur Adams, a medium-sized, red-haired, freckle-faced boy is in the sixth grade of public school. His attendance, scholarship, conduct and effort are good, and his av-

erage I.Q. is 88. The boy is interested in basketball, boxing and track. He enjoys reading comics and mystery stories, and is an active member of the South End Boys' Club. He attends the Cathedral Church and receives the sacraments frequently. The boy is attending dental clinic regularly. Both parents stated that he is well behaved at home.

He lives with his parents in four rooms on the third floor of a four story red brick house, located in a very poor residential section in the densely populated South End. His father works as a cab driver and earns fifty dollars a week. Father was born in Nova Scotia, November 30, 1909, and he came to the United States in 1926. He is reported to be immoral and also a chronic alcoholic. He has frequently neglected the family and is known to the court. He has completed the ninth grade in school. This man made a poor impression on the probation officer.

The mother was born in Nova Scotia on November 20, 1907, and came to this country in 1920. Her formal education ended with the completion of the eighth grade. She has deserted her children a number of times, has been intoxicated on many occasions, and has been reported to be immoral. She also is known to the court. The family is known to the S.P.C.C. and has been on public aid intermittently since 1929.

As the result of a complaint issued by his parents, who claim that Arthur had been missing and away from home for six days, the boy was found delinquent and placed on probation. Due to the poor condition of the home and lack of supervision he was ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Group for a period of twelve weeks.

Although the boy at first was insecure and suspicious, he did an excellent job in all phases of the C.T.G. program. In the gym class he was a fine athlete, but was inclined to be a poor loser. While participating in an athletic event, he was accidentally pushed; whereupon he immediately turned around in a boxing position and threatened to seek revenge on one of the other boys. Following this incident Arthur was instructed to see the worker at the close of the day's program. At this time the worker went into detail regarding the explanation of friendly competition and sportsmanship. This was the last outburst during the remaining weeks at the C.T.G., and his personality blossomed under the supervision and guidance of the workers.

The worker visited the boy's parents and interpreted Arthur's needs to them. Both parents are determined to ab-

stain from liquor and be good parents for the sake of the boy. This they have done for the past year. During the twelve-week period of training the worker saw to it that the boy attended dental clinic regularly. It is felt that Arthur will be in need of supportive therapy, and as a result it is recommended that the boy be encouraged to keep in touch informally, after the case is filed, with the C.T.G. for counseling and moral support, in the event that home conditions become bad again. Further recommendations are that Arthur remain under the supervision of the C.T.G. worker and be encouraged to attend dental clinic until this work is completed. The prognosis is excellent, if present home conditions prevail.

Summary.

This boy was a product of a very poor home environment. It seems that his will to be always on the winning side attests to his insecurity, which is due to lack of interest, warmth, affection and recognition on the part of his parents. This would further seem to indicate a weak development of his ego and lack of social consciousness. Both of his parents are immoral and have low standards. The boy is rejected, insecure and a poor sport. When Arthur displayed poor sportsmanship, the worker took him aside and reasoned with him, after which there was no further recurrence of this trait. This indicates that the boy is in need of the proper guidance and supervision of a good probation officer for an indefinite period.

CASE X

Joseph Jones, fifteen, a short, good looking colored boy, is repeating the eighth grade at the Lewis School, where his teacher reports that he has been a problem for the past three years, that he is the "wise" type and a nuisance, lazy and mean. His I.Q. is 66. He attends church regularly, and at the Saint Mark's Social Center participates in gym, dancing and musical classes as often as three times a week. He had several after-school jobs, but he gave them up after a very

short time on one pretense or another.

Joseph lives with his parents, three younger sisters and three younger brothers in a five room apartment in a three family house, located in a colored neighborhood. The father, a short, pleasant, but rather aggressive colored man, was born in Boston in 1907 and received a high school education. He works as a waiter at the Parker House.

The mother, an intelligent, fine-featured colored woman, was born in Boston in 1909 and went as far as the first year of high school. She appeared to be rather defensive and overprotective of Joseph. She stated that the boy was not a bad boy, but recently he had become dissatisfied with school and wanted to go into the Coast Guard. Though the boy is not yet old enough to do so, the parents could not reason with him.

As a result of being picked up on the Boston Common asleep on a bench, the boy was brought to juvenile court. Joseph told the judge that his parents were good to him, but that everyone he knew was in the service, and he wanted to enlist. He had an argument with his mother and left home. The judge found the boy delinquent, placed him on probation, and ordered him to attend the C.T.G.

At the C.T.G. the boy showed a very poor attitude toward discipline and authority. The chief difficulty appeared to be that the parents failed to recognize, or refused to admit, that their son was a problem. He had an unwholesome attitude toward work, was very selective about his employment, and wanted a very light job with big wages. He liked plenty of clothes and much leisure time.

The workers did much interpretation to the parents, of the need of proper supervision for Joseph and finally convinced them that he was a problem and required guidance. His attitudes were discussed, and he was shown how no one could accomplish anything worthwhile without effort. The boy was issued a working certificate, and the worker assisted him in procuring a position as a messenger, until such time as he will be old enough to join the Coast Guard. He has not been involved in any further trouble.

Summary.

This boy stemmed from a good home environment, but defensiveness and lack of recognition of the needs of the boy

hindered his proper up-bringing, until interpretation was made by the worker. His poor attitude toward authority and discipline was a further result of this parental protectiveness and overindulgence. Once he was made to understand that he had to conform to standards and make his own way on his own merit, he was no further problem, although he will need the proper supervision for some time. Joseph's low I.Q. limited his academic maturity. The prognosis is good for Joseph's keeping out of trouble, if his parents continue to show a keen interest in and understanding of their son's welfare.

CASE XI

Edward Court, a good looking sixteen year old boy, is in the second year of Trade School. The teacher claims Edward is no behavior problem, but lacks initiative, is insecure and timid. He further states that the problem lies in the home. Edward is an average pupil with an I.Q. of 89, and does very poorly in mathematics. He attends the South End Boys' Club regularly.

Edward lives with his parents in a dilapidated three story house in a poor section of the city. The boy's father, born in Roxbury in 1908, has a long court record, dating from 1928, including drunkenness, larceny, assault and battery, and non-support. The man went as far as the third year of high school.

The mother, born in Brookline in 1912, has a record of drunkenness. She has a high school education. The woman is overstrict with Edward, and his father often beats him. The parents are constantly quarreling, and the police have been called many times to quiet them.

As the result of a complaint made by his mother, Edward was picked up in Scollay Square at an early hour of the morning. The boy admitted in court that he ran away from home four days ago, because his father picked on him and beat him for his repeated failure in mathematics. Both parents appeared in court and were instructed by the judge on the proper

upbringing of children. The boy was found delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the C.T.G.

At the C.T.G. the boy was no problem, but seemed to need proper handling and more security and recognition. Thus he was treated in an easy manner rather than a strict one, as the boy seemed to "fall apart" when the going became tough. By means of group activities Edward found he excelled in athletics and soon won the respect and approbation of instructors and playmates as well.

In view of Edward's very poor grades in mathematics, as shown by the Stanford Achievement Test, the worker decided to tutor the boy and assign him homework in arithmetic, which he brought in for correction the following day. In the twelve-week period Edward's mathematics work progressed from "F" to "C".

Close check was kept on conditions in the home; and they became much improved, as the judge warned the parents he would not tolerate their abusing Edward. A strict check is to be kept by the worker on home conditions, at which times the worker will endeavor to educate the parents into accepting Edward's academic limitations.

Summary.

Discord in the home between parents, bickering and quarreling deprived this boy of the sense of security which is fundamental to the development of an adequate personality. Overstrictness on the part of the father resulted in the boy's feeling rejected. As a result of his home environment he was in need of proper direction, guidance, training and approbation, which he received at the C.T.G. If conditions continue to improve in the home, the prognosis for Edward's remaining out of trouble is excellent, and there will be no necessity for removing the boy from the home.

CASE XII

Terrence Lang, fifteen, is a well built, extremely active, but immature, boy who is always striving for attention and recognition. He is in the second year of public high school with an average I.Q. of 100. The boy is interested in all types of athletics, especially boxing. He attends the Sacred Heart Church and the sacraments regularly, but has not been confirmed because of irregular attendance at Sunday School. He is no behavior problem in school, is obedient and respectful, and helps around the house.

The boy lives with his parents and two sisters on the second floor of a five room apartment in East Boston. The father is invalided with a kidney condition and is totally unable to work. The family is entirely supported by the Aid to Dependent Children of the Department of Public Welfare, and receives forty-nine dollars every two weeks.

The mother, a hardworking, passive woman, utilizes Terrence's spare time by keeping him busy performing chores around the house. She is concerned about Terrence's chronic lying.

As the result of being picked up in a Bowdoin Square Penny Arcade, the boy was brought to juvenile court, where he admitted running away from home to "see the sights". The judge found him delinquent, placed him on probation, and ordered him to attend the C.T.G.

At the C.T.G. Terrence was observed as hyperactive and always striving for attention and recognition. Because of his size he associated with boys older and wiser than he. The worker felt that his physically appearing older than he was, was the cause of his frequent impulsiveness as well as his constant desire for recognition. The latter trait will be of value if he seeks proper recreation and companionship. He has normal boyish interests and showed good ability and skill in the gymnasium and woodworking classes. He responded to attention; and when disciplined, accepted it seriously and tried to do better, but he lacked persistence and resoluteness. Interpretation of the boy's needs was made to his mother, as the worker felt that Terrence was restrained and suppressed in the home because of his father's illness. The worker found Saturday employment in a market for the boy, and he has already saved thirty-five dollars towards a college education. His striving for recognition and attention has lessened, due to the fact that he feels as though he is really helping out at home by contributing to the family upkeep. This therapy, the worker felt, was just what the boy needed to keep him out of trouble.

Summary.

This boy was brought up very strictly and felt rejected. In the home he was made to assume the role of father, as the head of the family was a cripple. His escapade was evidently a case of the boy's attempting to emancipate himself from his parents. His work has usefully absorbed his surplus energy, and already given a lift to his ego in enabling him to contribute financial assistance to the family. While diminishing his craving for attention and recognition, this newly acquired feeling of security and independence has made him a more mature and confident person. Lastly the worker's trust and confidence in him proved an added incentive for him to do a good job.

CASE XIII

Albert Mann, fifteen, is a well built, good looking boy except for an injury which mars the appearance of one eye. He is in the eighth grade of the public school. He is well behaved and fares poorly in his work. He is in the dull normal group in intelligence, but his mechanical aptitude is high. The teacher describes Albert as being very sensitive, especially when reciting. He attends church regularly and is an active member of the Boy Scouts.

Albert lives with his parents, four brothers and one sister in a six room suite in a three family house in Dorchester. This neighborhood is residential and has good recreational facilities.

The father, born in Nova Scotia in 1895, came to the United States in 1918. He is a model father, a good mixer and a strict disciplinarian. He went as far as the third year of high school. The mother, born in Nova Scotia in 1896, came to the United States in 1912. She was a high school graduate. Both parents admit Albert is well behaved at home, gets along well in the family, and has never caused them any worry until

this present running away. He is somewhat stubborn and very sensitive, probably because of his injured eye which mars his appearance.

As a result of being picked up on Boston Common in the early morning hours, the boy was brought to juvenile court. Albert told the judge that he had not been doing well at school and his mother punished him; so he left home and failed to return for three days. The judge found Albert delinquent, placed him on probation, and ordered him to attend the C.T.G.

At the C.T.G. the boy was unusually quiet and never mixed with the other boys. He is a "lone wolf" type, not assuming a superior air, but in fact quite humble. He appreciated attention and in this manner was drawn out on many occasions. In the gym he showed athletic skill and good coordination. He liked woodworking and did very well in his work. Being somewhat shy and aloof, he rarely took part in group discussion. Since the department did not feel that the boy showed any delinquency pattern, and because his home life and environs were wholesome, it was deemed advisable to recommend that his case be filed without further supervision by a probation officer on his return to the court after completing the twelve weeks' training.

Summary.

There did not seem to be any apparent reason for Albert's delinquent act, either in the boy's personality or in the boy's home. He had normal ideas, a good sense of social values, and adequate recreational outlets. His academic limitation was interpreted to his mother in order to eliminate her criticism of his scholastic record.

CASE XIV

Albert Cunningham, a handsome boy of fifteen with a winning smile, attends the George T. Angell School, a special class center, and has an I.Q. of 72. He is a problem child in school and is habitually truant. He has a second grade mathematics ability, and his reading ability is not quite third grade level. The boy attends church irregularly and the sacraments, infrequently. His attendance at the South End Boys' Club is spasmodic.

He lives with his mother, two sisters and two brothers in a four room apartment on the first floor of a three family house, located in a very poor neighborhood in the South End. Albert's father, born on Prince Edward Island on July 2, 1901, has been separated from his wife for the past three years and at present is serving a non-support sentence on Deer Island. This man's formal education ended with the completion of the sixth grade. He is a painter by trade. His wife describes him as a chronic alcoholic who is unable to hold a job. The boy's mother is Anna Macy, whom the father went to live with after separating from his wife, Gertrude Bigg, whom he married in Boston on February 4, 1923. Anna Macy is the mother of the man's five children, and she poses as Mrs. Cunningham. The whereabouts of Gertrude Bigg Cunningham is unknown. The family at present is maintained by A.D.C. The woman appears to have average intelligence, but very poor judgment, in dealing with her son.

Albert was found by a policeman at South Station, trying to buy a ticket to Connecticut to visit an aunt. The mother claims that this has happened frequently in the past, and as a result feelings between the mother and the boy were bad. Albert was found delinquent, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the C.T.G.

The mother appears to regard the boy as a nuisance. She stated that she has had trouble with him since he was four years old, at which time he started to run away. He refuses to do home chores, stays out late at night, and uses profane language when talking to her.

Inasmuch as the boy appeared confused and bewildered at times, arrangements were made for him to have an electroencephalogram, the results of which were negative. Albert always strove to be in the spotlight, as it seemed to him to be the only way to gain the approbation and attention of the group. Treatment consisted of close social supervision and work of limited responsibility--preferably of a monotonous nature. The worker interpreted to Albert his responsibility to his mother. Since the boy had to be trained in the routine of work, help for the boy was sought through the Community Workshop, which accepted him for a month's training period. The Workshop reported to the C.T.G. that the boy was a fair worker but needed constant supervision of his work. It was felt by the worker that the area of Albert's treatment was needed in the vocational training sphere. This therapy resulted not only in a steadily improving relationship between mother and son, but also in an abatement of Albert's yearning to be in the limelight, which was brought about by his understanding of

the realization that he could perform useful work. To aid his academic development tutoring in arithmetic and reading was provided.

Summary.

This boy's delinquency can be attributed to a poor home and an inadequate mother who did not understand his needs. The father's absence from the home afforded a leeway for relaxed disciplinary measures. Albert is essentially in need of direction, training and guidance, especially in a good sense of social values. Farm placement was considered, but it was generally felt that since the boy had a certain amount of security and attachment for his family and home, such as they were, he would run away from a foster home. The relationship between mother and son was improved greatly by the worker's constant interpretation of Arthur's needs to his mother. Albert has limitations, in that he is academically dull, but this is offset to a certain extent by his winning smile.

CASE XV

Joseph Frank, fifteen years old, a tall, good looking easy-going boy, is in the third year of English High School. His I.Q. is 113. He did very well in school until two years ago, when he started his truancy, mainly because he did not get up in time to get to school. His sister took him to live with her for a year, and everything progressed satisfactorily; but as soon as he returned home, he lapsed into his former habits. When he reaches his sixteenth birthday, Mr. Downey, the principal, recommends that Joseph leave school and get a job. He attends church and the sacraments irregularly and was formerly a member of the Charlestown Boys' Club. The boy attends dental clinic regularly.

Prior to his court appearance Joseph lived alone with

his father in a three-room apartment in a six-family house, located in a crowded residential section of the North End. His mother died in 1932. There is an older married sister and an older brother, Anthony, now in the armed service. Another older sister, Santa, is an inmate of the Fernald State School in Waverly. The family is known to the S.P.C.C. and Family Society.

The father was born in Italy in 1894 and came to the United States in 1912. He went as far as the third grade in school, but attended night school here before he became a naturalized citizen. At the present time he is working in a foundry. His daughter describes him as very strict and headstrong.

As a result of being picked up at the South Station, where he was found sleeping, Joseph was brought to Juvenile Court. The boy stated that he had a quarrel with his father about going into the Merchant Marine. The judge found Joseph delinquent, gave him a suspended sentence to the Industrial School for Boys at Shirley, and ordered him to attend the C.T.G. The married daughter, Louise, told the judge that her father was not well and was unable to cope with the boy, but that he did his best and failed, inasmuch as Joseph needs more understanding and supervision than the father could provide. Louise agreed to take the boy to live with her, as there would then be better supervision and an improved home environment.

Joseph did an excellent job in the gymnasium and showed intelligence and a good grasp of social values in the discussion classes. He was always cooperative and willing to do anything that might be asked of him. When the boy came to the C.T.G., he seemed to consider it a joke. Having received a few jolts during a court session one day when two other C.T.G. boys were sent to the Training School, Joseph was evidently deeply impressed. From then on there was a decided change in his attitude and behavior. After several conferences with the worker, Joseph was reconciled to wait until either the father signed the necessary papers or he became of age to enlist in the Merchant Marine. Meanwhile the worker secured for him part-time employment, after which he settled down to serious work.

Joseph was encouraged to remain with his sister, and the boy's needs were interpreted to her by the worker. The worker found him a job, at which he is marking time until he will be of age to enlist in the Merchant Marine.

Summary.

Here is a case where the boy's mother died when he was four, leaving the father, a well meaning, but exceedingly headstrong individual, to be both mother and father to their five children. The father did his best but failed, as the family required more understanding and supervision than he could provide. Joseph feels he is rejected and reacts by antisocial behavior. He has been without the loving care of a mother at a time when a mother's love and understanding were needed to integrate the boy's total personality. He is incapable of identifying with his father, who he feels has completely rejected him. It was shown clearly that while the boy lived with his sister, who was able to give him the care and attention he needed, the boy's antisocial behavior ceased. In addition to this care provided by his sister the environmental change brought about a halt to his runaway tendencies. It is felt that Joseph will keep out of further trouble, if he continues to live with his sister. After a conference with the judge, at which time the needs of the boy were interpreted to the father, he agreed to allow Joseph to continue living with his sister.

CASE XVI

Albert Nord, fifteen, is a well built, curly haired, rather good looking boy. His schooling has been erratic, scattered and irregular due to the frequent changes of address of the family. He has attended ten different schools in completing seven grades and is now in his eleventh school. Mr. Sheehan, principal of the Bigelow School, states that Albert has been no behavior problem in school. He is a fair student,

with an I.Q. of 109. Albert attends church irregularly. He was formerly a member of the Y.M.C.A.

Albert's mother was born in Boston in 1907 and went as far as the sixth grade in school. His father died eleven years ago. Her children were taken from her by order of the court on a complaint of neglect. Albert was placed in a foster home, but was returned to his mother after he had run away many times from the foster home. He then resided with his mother in an apartment of four rooms in a three story apartment house in the South Boston district. The mother was addicted to drink and had a court record. She is known to entertain men frequently in the house. She works in a restaurant, and her earnings together with an allotment from John, a son in the Navy, support the boy. His sister has been committed to Lancaster, and three other children are in the custody of the Division of Child Guardianship.

Albert was picked up at half past four one morning on Tremont Street. In court the boy stated that he ran away from his foster home and was on his way home to his mother. He admitted to the judge that he had persistently run away to return to his mother and stated that he had done this because he felt that his mother had just as nice a home as any other place where he had been. The boy was found delinquent, returned to the custody of his mother, placed on probation, and ordered to attend the C.T.G.

At the C.T.G. Albert was found to be an immature and insecure boy, who covered up by bragging. He was skilled in activities of a physical nature and showed good competitive spirit in group games. He used discussion classes to talk about crime and delinquency in South Boston, but this was to attract attention to himself. He was stubborn in his insistence that he remain with his mother, and refused to be placed away from her. The worker heard of the mother's continuing to drink and was making plans to get Albert out of the house, when he and his mother were both arrested for drunkenness. After arraignment in court on this charge, both ran away; they are now believed to be somewhere in New York.

Summary.

This case is a portrayal of a mother who refused to accept the responsibilities of bringing up her family, resulting in Albert's antisocial behavior. He had every reason to feel rejected and insecure. In addition he was without the

companionship of a father with whom to identify. Obviously he was subjected to insecure and unstable home life with consequent bad training, provoking a confused attitude regarding morals and social consciousness. His mother was an immoral drunkard who took no interest in the boy. It was felt that this boy needed a good home in a wholesome environment, where some adult would take an interest in him. He never had an opportunity to become acquainted with the finer things of life, and appeared to be confused, especially in his attitude toward his mother. Interpretation made by the worker to the mother was ineffective due to her inadequacy and lack of interest in the boy. His constant changes of address did not allow him to attend one school for any appreciable length of time.

GROUP SUMMARY

This final group included the major number of cases studied, where all of the boys were left in their own homes. It has been a matter of undeviating principle with the court that the best place for a child is his own home, where he is likely to get the security, affection, and moral care he needs. The last case in this category may be excepted inasmuch as plans were being made to remove Albert Nord from his mother's influence, when both of them ran away to New York after having been arrested for drunkenness. Because of a complaint of neglect the court had ordered the children taken

away from the unwholesome influence of this immoral widow. Albert had thereafter run away from a foster home many times in order to be with his mother. The balance of this summary will be devoted to the remaining nine cases.

With the exception of Case XIII all of these boys lived in poor, crowded neighborhoods. A comparatively trivial argument at home or a parental misunderstanding of school progress prompted five of the boys to commit the delinquent act of running away, which seemed accidental rather than due to any serious underlying difficulty. Most of the families exhibited one or more of the following symptons of social or family breakdown: immorality, divorce or separation, illegitimacy, economic need (receipt of public or private relief), ill health serious enough to upset normal family life, and parental disinterest. Only the mother was present in three of the cases. In Case VII the parents were separated, the mother was an invalid, and all five children were illegitimate. In Case VIII the father had deserted. In Case XIV the parents were separated, and the father was serving a sentence for non-support. A widower was the only parent present in one case, and he was strict and headstrong in raising his son whose behavior was normal while living with his married sister. Both parents were present in the remaining five cases. Of these, three portrayed a wholesome home life, one was a poor home without supervision, and there was constant bickering, quar-

reling and discord in the other home.

Of the total group three boys were well behaved in the home and school. They attended church regularly and actively participated in recreation programs. One boy was a problem in both home and school. His attendance at church was irregular; his participation in the South End Boys' Club, spasmodic; and the family was supported by Aid to Dependent Children. Although John Howe was not a problem in school, he was quite troublesome; and in the home he was stubborn, badly disciplined, and untrained. While Joseph Frank's mother lived, he was no problem. After her death his truancy increased, as he overslept mornings; and his father was unable to cope with him. Edward Court presented no problem in behavior at school, but in the home his mother was overstrict and his father beat him frequently. Herbert Good, one of five illegitimate children, was no problem in school, but in the home he was bossy, argumentative, and overbearing. Joseph Jones, a problem and a nuisance in school, had a defensive, overprotective mother.

In all of these cases the treatment at the C.T.G. resulted in an abatement of the boys' antisocial behavior and a general improvement in the attitude and behavior of the boys in the home, school, and C.T.G. Albert Mann stemmed from a good home environment and showed no delinquency pattern. He had normal ideas, a good sense of social values, and adequate recreational outlets. In Cases XI and XIV, where tutoring was

provided, the scholastic records were brought up to a passing level.

As an outcome of training at the C.T.G. and interpretation made by the worker to the parents, satisfactory adjustment in the home resulted in all cases; and home conditions in general were greatly improved. Joseph Jones's parents became more interested in their son's needs and welfare. Interpretation of Albert Mann's academic limitations eliminated criticism of his scholastic record. There appeared a decidedly improved relationship between Albert Cunningham and his mother. After living with his married sister, Joseph Frank halted his runaway tendencies and ceased his antisocial behavior. Inasmuch as home conditions in general had improved satisfactorily before completion of the boys' probationary periods, it was deemed advisable to have the boys remain in their own homes.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study of sixteen runaway boys, who were adjudicated delinquent by the Boston Juvenile Court from January, 1944, to December, 1946, and ordered to attend the Citizenship Training Department for the first twelve weeks of their probation, has been threefold: firstly, to discover whether runaways possess certain traits to differentiate them from non-runaways; secondly, to ascertain what constellation of factors produces in certain boys such deep-set feelings of deprivation that running away is the response; and thirdly, to determine the contributions of the Citizenship Training Department in the rehabilitation and social adjustment of these boys. With these purposes in mind the major findings of the cases examined will now be summarized.

The group studied ranged in age from twelve to sixteen years. Twelve per cent were sixteen years old; fifty-eight per cent, fifteen years old; twelve per cent, fourteen years old; twelve per cent, thirteen years old; and six per cent, twelve years old. It can be said that this period of adolescence is one in which the desires for adventure, independence, security, recognition and response are dominant.

The physical environments of these boys were, on the whole, areas having high delinquency ratings and considered by

the writer to be poor residential sections. They lived in various parts of the city, including the Back Bay, Beacon Hill, North End, South End, East Boston, South Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, and Allston. Sixty per cent of these boys lived in a poor neighborhood; seven per cent, in fair surroundings; and thirty-three per cent, in good residential neighborhoods. Although the majority of these families received at least moderate incomes, thirty-eight per cent were aided by either public or private agencies--in some instances, by both.

Disorganizing factors were present in a majority of the homes, many of which were broken by paternal desertion, separation, and death, tending to disintegrate the families and weaken parental control. A deviation from the desirable pattern of the presence of both parents in the home was encountered in fifty per cent of the cases: twelve per cent because of desertion, twelve per cent by separation, nineteen per cent due to death, and seven per cent because the mother was not married. In twelve per cent of the cases where there was only one parent in the home, that parent was employed with the result that the boys were left with very little, if any, supervision or subsequent parental control. A stepmother in the home was indicated in twelve per cent of the cases. Sixty-two per cent suffered from rejection, while a larger majority were deprived of a sense of security, thus jeopardizing an

establishment of their capacity for successful adjustment to society as adults.

Parental histories of such overt destructive influences as alcoholism, immorality, and criminality, played an important role in the development of these cases of delinquency. Thirty-seven per cent had alcoholic fathers, nineteen per cent had alcoholic mothers, while both parents were alcoholic in eighteen per cent of the cases. Immorality of both parents occurred in twelve per cent of the cases, twelve per cent had immoral fathers, and six per cent had immoral mothers. Nineteen per cent of these runaways were illegitimate. The writer learned from the Board of Probation records that in six per cent of the cases studied both parents had criminal records, and that such was the case in nineteen per cent of the boys' fathers and in twelve per cent of the mothers, while the boys' siblings had court records in twelve per cent of the cases.

In regard to the nativity and education of the boys' parents the writer found that forty-four per cent of the fathers were born in the United States and an equal percentage of the mothers were also Americans. The remaining fathers and mothers were born in Ireland, Canada, Italy, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, indicating to a certain degree a conflict of culture patterns in the home. Forty-five per cent of the fathers received grammar school educations or less, forty-five per cent either graduated from or attended high school,

and ten per cent went to college. A review of the mothers' educational backgrounds revealed that forty per cent had a grammar school education or less, thirty per cent either graduated from or attended high school, while this information pertaining to the remaining thirty per cent was unknown.

The majority of these boys enjoyed good health with no physical handicaps, presented a good appearance, and were very active. They had normal ideas, were amenable to discipline, and had adequate recreational outlets. Sixty-two per cent were active or former members of boys' clubs or neighborhood centers. Forty-four per cent were behavior problems in school, while fifty per cent of them constituted problems for their parents by their behavior in the home.

Results of the psychological tests placed twelve per cent of these boys on the superior intelligence level; fifty per cent had average intelligence; nineteen per cent were in the dull normal category; twelve per cent had borderline intelligence; and seven per cent were mentally deficient. These boys' I.Q. averaged ninety-five, which is higher than the I.Q. rating of seventy-eight which, according to Dr. Clairette Armstrong's survey conducted in the New York Children's Court, was the average I.Q. of other delinquents. Only thirteen per cent of the boys were doing well in school; thirty-one per cent were fair pupils; and the remaining fifty-six per cent were doing poorly. In twenty-five per cent of the cases rec-

ords of truancy appeared persistently.

In the group studied forty-four per cent attended church regularly; thirty-seven per cent, irregularly; and the remaining nineteen per cent indicated no church attendance. Ninety-four per cent were of the white race; and six per cent, of the colored race.

In all of the cases each boy committed his act of delinquency alone and unescorted. Six per cent disclosed a complaint of stealing, mainly small sums of money from the home, which preceded the act of running away.

In this group of sixteen runaway boys two were committed to Lyman School and one, to Shirley. Three were placed in foster homes because of unsatisfactory home conditions, whereas the remainder were left in their homes under supervision of the probation officer, and they attended the Citizenship Training Department regularly.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

In examining all of the seemingly contradictory explanations of the causes of delinquency in general and running away in particular, it is found from the study of these cases that they do have one common denominator: the inability of the child to meet the obligations or temptations of a particular situation without resorting to a path of least resistance and so violating the law. The peculiar nature of each boy, his background of experience and family life, and his particular needs are all inextricably interwoven. Physical and social heredity, emotional disturbances, and a host of other factors, both in isolation and in a variety of combinations, are emphasized as causative of running away. These sixteen runaways in most cases have shown a marked defiance against the home and to a considerably lesser extent against the school. The writer has found that a combination of environmental and situational factors thwarted natural urges in these boys and made social relationships unsatisfying, thus setting up attitudes conducive to running away.

In reading the case material the reader can visualize the types of home atmospheres created by drunken fathers, the scenes and situations arising from the immorality of one or both parents, culture conflicts, and bad parental examples as

have been indicated in the histories of alcoholism, immorality and criminality.

Since the ultimate goal of successful probation is to bring about in the life of each individual a new outlook or perspective, and a new set of habits, a different attitude toward society and those with whom he comes in contact, the Citizenship Training Department appears to have advanced far in the training, rehabilitation, and social adjustment of these runaways by developing in them their latent abilities, their force of character, strength, and skill.

It is obvious, however, that the effect of the juvenile court is limited, and in many cases cannot be expected to offset years of slack discipline, bad habits and poor standards. Nor can it make poor human material into good human material. The juvenile court is not a cure-all, but merely a short step forward.

Not only is cooperation between the juvenile court and the school valuable as a means of dealing with delinquency but it also serves as a vital influence in preventing it. There should be a close functional cooperation between the juvenile court and all child welfare agencies in the community. Coordinated and properly directed effort, as well as propagandizing for proper housing, economic security, better education, and directed recreation, will result in happier homes and family life, but the court in conjunction with other social agen-

cies must lead the way.

It is better to build up family ties than to tear them down. Adverse feelings and hostile reactions are frequently linked with faraway inadequacies of the parent's own childhood. Children come to the attention of the court because the home, the school, and other agencies in the community fail to meet their needs. Preventive work should reach children before their needs become serious. Delinquency must be controlled through prevention. In addition to programs providing social treatment of the individual child, measures aimed at basic causes are required if conditions in the home and community contributing to delinquency are to be removed. A solution to delinquency lies in the community as a total being. Youthful energies must be directed into useful channels. Fine community agencies are needed to step in and buttress the home, never taking over, but supplementing it. Proper referral often causes a boy to change rather than a probation officer's attempt to do so.

Community planning for child welfare requires participation of social-welfare agencies, schools, health agencies, courts, recreational agencies, and representative citizens concerned with children. Child guidance service with resources for competent psychiatric, psychological, and social study and treatment is a necessary part of a community welfare program. The school has an important place in the prevention

and treatment of social problems of children. Its primary responsibility is the organization of an educational program sufficiently flexible to meet individual needs. For children who require care away from their own homes there should be available the various forms of family-home and institutional care necessary to insure provision for physical, emotional, educational, and religious needs, with due regard for special handicaps and problems of adjustment.

Approved

Richard K. Conant

Richard K. Conant, Dean

APPENDIX

SCHEDULE

Name

Date of Birth

Boy's Court Record
- Date
- Complaint
- Disposition
- Previous Court Record

Grade in School

Marks: Good, Fair, Poor

Church Attendance: Regular, Irregular, None

Conduct: Good, Fair, Poor
- Home
- School

Observations

Parents: Name
- Birthplace
- Date of Birth
- To United States
- Education

Home: Siblings
- Number of Rooms
- Lodgers
- Section of City
- Neighborhood: Good, Fair, Poor
- Area: Crowded, Suburban, Residential

Home Conditions
- Poverty
- Overcrowded
- Neglected
- Immoral
- Shiftless
- Both Parents Work
- Chronic Illness:
  - Physical
  - Mental
- Broken by Death
  - Desertion
  - Alcoholism
  - Immorality
  - Illegitimacy
  - Separation, Divorce
  - Illness
  - Non-support

Family Relationships: Good, Fair, Poor

Parental Control: Good, Indifferent, Poor

Hobbies and Interests

Club Membership

Physical Examination

Mental Testing

Massachusetts Board of Probation Records:
- Father
- Mother
- Siblings

Siblings: Number

Agencies Interested in Family

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